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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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ADDRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

ADDRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES TO KING LUIZ I. OF PORTUGAL, CONCERNING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN HIS KINGDOM.

On July 28, a deputation from the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Comite Francais d'Emancipation, was received by the King of Portugal in the Pavillon Marsan, at the Tuileries, when an address from each Society was presented to him. The deputation was introduced to him by his Excellency the Viscount de Paiva, Portuguese Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris, attended by his Excellency Senor de Ribeiro, Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs at Lisbon. A translation into French of the English address had been prepared, and permission was solicited to read it, but the King having intimated that he understood English perfectly well, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society submitted it *viva voce* in the original. The text was as follows:

To His Christian Majesty Don Luiz I., King of Portugal:

May it please the King, the undersigned, on behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and of the friends of the anti-slavery cause in Great Britain, most respectfully solicit permission to address your Majesty on the subject of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the possessions of Portugal. With a view to promote the extirpation of these evils, it has been the custom of the committee to appeal from time to time to those personages upon whom rests the responsibilities of government, and whose misfortune it is to possess territories where slavery exists, and whence the slave trade is encouraged. The committee in venturing to submit a few remarks on this subject, would render full justice to the well-known sentiments of your Majesty in relation to it. They rejoice in the enlightened and humane views your Majesty has professed, and which have been carried into effect in the instructions transmitted to the representatives of the Portuguese Crown in its transmarine possessions. They believe that the existence of slavery in them, and the practice of slave-trading, are facts which your Majesty cannot but deeply deplore; and the committee have noticed, with extreme gratification, the initiatory measures which, according to report, have been projected at the instigation of your Majesty, to hasten the period when the Portuguese territories shall be freed from slavery. They believe, that in April, 1858, a royal decree was issued by the late King of Portugal, declaring that within twenty years from that time slavery should cease to exist within the dominion of the Crown; but no information has reached the committee of any steps having been taken to give effect to that decree. They presume, therefore, that the measures referred to in your Majesty's speeches, on opening the Cortes in 1866 and in 1867, relate to the speedier extinction of slavery than was contemplated when that decree was issued. The committee would dwell upon the remarkable and encouraging fact, as demonstrated by the most recent experience, that the immediate abolition of slavery presents no insuperable difficulty, and can be effected without danger to the community. In the Dutch Colonies the supervision of the freedmen, under government officials, has proved a mere empty form; yet their liberation was not preceded by any preparatory stage. In the United States of America emancipation has been carried out on the most colossal scale, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, in the midst of a civil war of unprecedented magnitude and fierceness, and at a time when the passions of the slaveholders were excited to the utmost degree of violence and ferocity; yet this great act of national justice has resulted in no disturbance of the public peace on the part of the freedmen, who everywhere manifested an earnest desire to labor, and to assume and perform their duties as peaceful citizens. The dire distress which overwhelmed them like a deluge was indeed a calamity deeply to be lamented; but it was the result of the abandonment, by the slave-owners, of the aged, the incapable, and the young. The freedmen have now happily nearly passed through that terrible transition state, and are rapidly settling down to continuous occupation, under the guardianship of the state. The abolition of slavery in the French colonies was also effected peaceably, and without a period of probation. In the British colonies the Act of Emancipation took effect with the same gratifying results. The intermediate, or apprenticeship, state, designed by a timid Legislature as a precautionary measure, proved so utter a failure, that those colonies which accepted it found themselves compelled to abolish it by legislative enactment. It may, therefore, be safely predicated that slavery in the Portuguese possessions may be abolished with equal safety, and with equally beneficial results. The committee most deeply lament that from those parts of the eastern coast of Africa over which Portugal claims to exercise jurisdiction, but especially from Mozambique and the parts adjacent thereto, the slave trade is still being carried on to a deplorable extent. That eminent philanthropist missionary, Dr. Livingstone—who, it is feared, has fallen a victim to his zeal for humanity—has drawn a most terrible picture of the utter desolation and depopulation of tracts he had twice visited, and which, on the occasion of his first visit but a short time before, were flourishing and populous. Entire communities were swept away; extensive hamlets and large towns were destroyed and obliterated; deserts where gardens stood; terror among remnants of tribes, instead of open, cordial welcome by multitudes—such were the signs which informed the brave missionary that the slave-trader had passed that way. The committee trust they will be pardoned if they venture to insist upon the principal remedy which that good man suggests as the most effectual means of putting an end to this hateful and dreadful traffic in human beings. He asserts that the slave-traders deal in negroes because the Portuguese ports are closed to legitimate commerce; and strenuously urges, that were these thrown open, lawful trade would rapidly spring up, and supplant the unlawful and wicked traffic in slaves. The committee cannot presume to point out what other steps should be taken by your Majesty's government, in addition to the adoption of a suggestion which seems highly reasonable, and especially calculated to accomplish its object. They would submit it as preeminently worthy of consideration, and express a hope that it may please your Majesty to recommend it to the attention of the constitutional advisers of the Crown. In conclusion, the committee would dwell upon the fact that Portugal is one of the only three professing Christian powers in whose territories slavery is still permitted to exist. The committee would believe it to be the ardent desire of your Majesty to abolish this institution throughout the possessions of the Portuguese Crown; and while they express the hope that your Majesty will hasten the day of freedom for those of your subjects unjustly held in bondage, they would add that such an act will impart imperishable lustre to your reign, and elevate your name in history to the highest rank, as one of the benefactors of the human race.

The King replied in English, and expressed his happiness to receive the deputation. The question of emancipation and of the abolition of the slave trade interested him deeply, and it was his ardent desire, as it was also the wish of his government, to promote both. His sympathies were wholly with the memorialists, and his government was considering what measures should be recommended to secure both objects. The extinction of slavery involved interests which had to be dealt with, and it was necessary when such great changes were imminent to seek the means of effecting them without perturbation. He would renew his assurance to the memorialists that the whole subject had and should continue to command his attention and that of his government.

Mr. Albright solicited permission to submit the fact, that the freedmen of the United States were working in the most satisfactory manner. As Secretary to the National Freedmen's Aid Union, he had been in correspondence with all the existing associations in England and the United States for assisting the freedmen, and there was an unanimous concurrence of testimony as to their fitness for immediate emancipation. It was in the power of one individual, who resolutely set his mind to the task, to accomplish much; immeasurably more could he do in this matter who was also a King.

Mr. Laboulaye read the address of the Comte Francais d'Emancipation, which was somewhat brief, and, in fact, an echo of the English address. The King replied in French, much to the same purpose as he had already done to the English deputation, renewing his assurance that the subject should have his serious attention.

The deputation then withdrew.

NEGRO SUPREMACY IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican.

There are but two States in the South where the negro population outnumbers the white—the States of South Carolina and Mississippi. In the other eight reconstructing States the whites are so largely in the majority that if they are outvoted it will be either because they refuse to register or because more are disfranchised than Congress intended. The following table gives estimates of population and voters for 1867, based on the census of 1860, without proper allowance for natural increase and for the losses during the war:

	Male Citizens.		Voters.	
States.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
Alabama	243,100	164,265	81,033	54,755
Arkansas	154,713	42,185	51,571	14,062
Florida	37,016	28,852	12,339	7,961
Georgia	270,941	175,146	90,314	57,715
Louisiana	284,873	136,729	47,479	22,793
Mississippi	167,646	164,755	58,882	58,352
North Carolina	281,799	136,012	93,933	45,337
South Carolina	131,529	150,839	43,840	50,273
Texas	250,000	110,000	80,000	35,000
Virginia	316,761	108,128	105,583	66,043
Total	2,138,369	1,299,941	661,974	412,187

If all were registered, the white majorities would be as follows: In Alabama, 26,278; Arkansas, 37,519; Florida, 4,388; Georgia, 32,599; Louisiana, 24,686; North Carolina, 48,596; Texas, 45,000; Virginia, 39,540. The black majorities would be in Mississippi, 2,370; South Carolina, 6,439. If in the eight States where whites are dominant disfranchisement is limited by the conditions of the Reconstruction bills, the white majorities cannot be entirely wiped out, except possibly in Florida. The Southern obstructionists assert that the registers reject a great many white men who are not legally disfranchised, and as there is no appeal from their decisions, that it is impossible for white men to obtain their rights. This may be true in some localities, but it is not likely that it is the general fact. There is no evidence of any such general purpose of the military commanders to reduce the whites to a minority by unfair means, as the obstructionists allege. On the contrary, they show every disposition to administer the law strictly and fairly. The disfranchisement of whites, therefore, which gives the negroes a majority of voters in every State, except Arkansas, is voluntary. The whites refuse to register. If negro supremacy is established throughout the South, as now seems likely, it will be the fault of the whites themselves, who sullenly stand back and surrender their power because they dislike the conditions under which they are permitted to exercise it. If by registering and voting they endorsed these conditions, we might honor their pluck in standing out and bearing the consequences. But they do not endorse the Congressional scheme by voting under it. They merely go through with the process as an inevitable evil, and have full liberty to hate and denounce the scheme and its authors to their hearts' content, and keep doing so until they are satisfied. No, the abdication of power by the whites is cowardly and inexcusable, and they will themselves share the responsibility of the consequences, whatever they may be.

What the consequences of negro supremacy in the South are to be it is impossible to predict. George W. Kendall, of Texas, has written a letter, for the consolation of his white brethren, in which he predicts that the first colored vote will be the heaviest ever counted; that the negroes will not continue to take an interest in politics after the novelty of voting has passed away. There may be something in this, but the negroes and their white friends will frame the new Constitutions for the Southern States, and do the first legislating, and if they hold their present purpose and leadership, they will adopt the Tennessee system, and there will be a much more sweeping disfranchisement of white men than under the confiscation acts, and the imposition of such other disabilities as even Brownlow has not attempted. The Southern white men must see that those who hold the power at the start will have every inducement so to fix things that they can retain it, and although Congress is to pass upon the new constitutions before they can stand, there is no probability that that body will require any greater leniency towards ex-rebels in the other States than in Tennessee. They will accept the constitutions made as true expressions of the popular will, and it will be a long time before the white men of the South can hope for any change. If they mean to have any voice in their State governments for the next dozen years they will do well to register and vote now. It may be their last chance.

SLAVE APPRENTICESHIP.

The following interesting article, taken from *Zion's Herald*, we commend to all who deem the condition of the Freedmen as not needing their consideration:

As we came out of the church an old man barefooted, but with a pair of shoes tied together by the strings and slung over his shoulder, leaning on a long stick, accosted us, and in pathetic tones begged us to do what we could to restore his children, all of whom he said had been taken from him, and against his will bound out in apprenticeship. It was but one of many similar complaints and intercessions for aid made that day; but I singled it out from the rest on account of what followed. He was told to come to the hotel and wait until the close of the meeting there, and then his case should be called to the attention of Gen. Gregory and Judge Bond. He came and waited for an opportunity, but before it offered darkness set in, and I missed him; the old man had left, and I thought sadly of the heavy burthen he carried back to his home unrelieved. I thought too of a poor woman who with a child at her breast had begged me to get her other child of seven years which had been taken from her, and I thought of another middle-aged man who had made the same request with regard to two of his children, a boy and a girl. I thought of a dozen other cases which I had heard of during the day, and I no longer wondered how it was that with all the advantages of climate, natural highways of bay and river, immense and untold mineral resources, land naturally rich and fertile, and all the advantages which make States great and prosperous, Maryland should be covered with the mould and mildew of decay, ivied over in her ruin, and with the blight of imbecile existence upon her. I rather wondered at the long-suffering of God that he did not blot her from the map of the nation. I no longer wondered that the prosperity of other States was denied her, but that with such oppressions of the poor God suffered her to exist at all. The first sight that greeted me on looking from the hotel was the bent form of the poor old fellow leaning against a pillar which supported the veranda of the house. His story in brief was that he was old, he didn't know how old, but too old to be able to work much; that ever since he was thirty he had been a free man; that twelve years ago his three children had been taken away from him against his consent, and in the face of all the poor feeble opposition he could make, they had been bound out by the Orphan's Court of Dorchester County to a man named Parker; that his eldest son was now over nineteen years of age, and the other two boys well grown and able-bodied; that every day he saw his boys working in the field when he himself was unable to work, the fruits of their labor enriching others, while he and his poor old wife, the mother of the boys, were needy, destitute, and almost starving. That the said Parker would neither give up his boys nor help the poor old father with any portion of their earnings, but turned a deaf ear to all his complaints, and like an unfeeling wretch banished him even from intercourse with his children. He lived eleven miles from Cambridge, at a place called Blackwater. He had walked home last night discouraged, but had started again long before daylight on his long tramp of eleven miles afoot without breakfast, bringing back his load of sorrow, and begging for the redress which I fear cannot yet be afforded him.

By a little straining of the law which was made when slavery was an institution of the State, and never repealed, the legal right existed for the transaction of this iniquity, and regardless of the moral right this man dares, under cover of an iniquitous law, to defy the justice of both God and man. There are, according to the reports of the Freedmen's Bureau, 2,281 children held in illegal servitude in this way in the State of Maryland, that neither the moral sense of right inherent in the people, the Civil Rights bill passed by Congress, nor all the power of the Freedmen's Bureau have as yet been able to redress. The Freedmen's Bureau has done a good work, for 2,300 children have been restored to their parents in this State; but there yet remains this 2,280 souls whose petitions continually ascend to the throne of God asking deliverance and appealing to right-thinking men for help. There are 1,200 Rachels in Maryland weeping for their children, 1,000 fathers deprived of the society of their own children and the support of their old age, and crying to the God of Justice for vengeance on their oppressors. Is slavery dead while this accursed institution of negro apprenticeship exists? Is there no power in Congress to stamp out this abomination? Are the liberty-loving people of the North aware that this vile remnant of slavery still reigns in all the border States, and do they consider themselves no longer the agents and instruments of God for its wiping out? Is fire to come from heaven and by burning purge out this sin, or shall God's people themselves take the work in hand, and in his name declare that such things shall not be?

Was it intended that emancipation should be an empty word, signifying nothing, and that while these poor slaves were in the act of raising their hands in thanksgiving to God for their own liberation, their children should be snatched from them and doomed to a slavery almost as degrading as that their fathers had been just delivered from? Can a man feel the aspirations of a free man while his children are in bondage? How is regeneration to come to a people whose children are enslaved until they gain their majority, deprived alike of freedom, education, and hope of advancement?

If Dorchester was the worst of our counties, if sixteen Republicans out of a population of 2,500 or 3,000 declared Cambridge the most rebellious of our country towns, if sixty Republicans in a whole district was the least proportion of honest men to the white population, then there might still be hope for the speedy regeneration of the State; but such is not the case; for compared with St. Mary's, Prince George's, Calvert, and Somerset Counties, the darkness of Dorchester is luminous.

A BRIGHT RECORD—SHALL THE NEGRO OF OHIO VOTE?

We learn from John M. Langston, Esq., of Ohio, that the Republican party of that State have accepted the issue of manhood suffrage for the negro of that State, and propose to give him the ballot by a majority of more than sixty thousand at their election, which occurs next October. In this struggle, Gen. Hayes, of Cincinnati, is the standard-bearer of the Republican party. The colored people of that State ought to be enfranchised at once, and without condition; for, if Mr. Langston states the truth, there are sixty thousand colored inhabitants in that State, and they are the owners of taxable property to the amount of $15,000,000. The number of their children of legal school age, according to the enumeration taken in September, 1865, is 21,706.

In the war of the late rebellion the colored men of Ohio supplied from their population to the 54th colored Massachusetts regiment four hundred men; to the 50th regiment one thousand men; and because this regiment was an Ohio one, Mr. Langston, on behalf of the colored men of Ohio, presented to it a stand of beautiful regimental colors at a cost of $225. To the 5th United States colored troops one thousand men, and to this Mr. Langston also presented a stand of colors worth $225. To the 27th United States colored troops, one thousand men; to all other colored regiments during the war, three thousand six hundred men; in all seven thousand men. In this estimate the colored regiment raised in Cincinnati, by Judge Dickson, during the Kirby Smith raid, for the defence of that city, is not included. This regiment numbered one thousand men. Mr. Langston speaks with full knowledge of these facts, because the colored troops of that State were recruited under his immediate direction and supervision; and to him more than to any other single individual, belongs the honor of having made this record. In the charge at Fort Wagner, seventy-five of the men who fell there were from the State of Ohio, and were sons of several of the most wealthy and influential colored families of that State.

It cannot be the case that loyal men of Ohio, now so largely in the majority, can longer deny to their colored fellow-citizens the privilege of doing for their country, in the use of the ballot, what they did in the late rebellion in the use of the musket.—*N. O. Republican.*

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN NEW JERSEY.

A meeting of colored people was held in the Colored Presbyterian Church, in Plane street, Newark, N. J., on Monday evening, 12th inst., for the purpose of ratifying the proceedings of the State Suffrage Convention, held in Trenton on the 23d of July. The edifice was completely filled by a quiet and orderly audience, a number of ladies being in attendance. Addresses were made by several persons, and a series of resolutions were adopted. Among the resolutions was the following:

"That, basing our claims to the elective franchise upon the same principles which actuated the fathers of the revolution and the framers of the immortal Declaration of Independence, and upon considerations of justice and right which are the basis of a free government, we ask our Legislature to return to the past policy which once governed the fathers of our State, and establish impartial manhood suffrage.

Freedmen Denied Registration.—About two months ago it was announced in certain dispatches that Gen. Ord's Order No. 5, which virtually prohibited the freedmen from taking part in politics, would work mischief in the General's department, by giving the supreme control of reconstruction in some of the States, especially Arkansas, into the hands of the disloyalists. This was denied at the time, but advices received from some of the most prominent men of Arkansas during the past few day confirm the prediction first made. Since this order was issued, the freedmen in many of the counties of that State have, through fear of the military authorities, refused to register so that they can vote. This is especially so in Drew, White, Ouchita, Union, Calhoun, Columbia, Craighead, and Dallas counties. In these and a few other counties there are 25,000 colored men who are entitled to registration. Unless Gen. Ord rescinds his order, or carries out his promise made at the time of issuing the order, that before September 1 he would designate convenient places where the freedmen could register, the work of reconstruction will be solely in the hands of the disloyal. Many of the most prominent citizens of the State, such as Secretary of State White, United States Marshal Mills, Gen. Gantt, and others, have petitioned Gen. C. H. Smith, commanding the military forces in the State, to use his influence either to have the order rescinded, or the promise made by Gen. Ord kept.

A Freedman Nominated for Office.—A full Radical ticket for Aldermen and Councilmen, embracing one colored man, was nominated in Nashville, Tenn., on the 16th inst. He is said to be highly intelligent, and will doubtless make a good officer, if elected. A Convention to nominate a Radical candidate for Mayor meets in the same city on the 17th inst.

COLORED MEN AS OFFICE-HOLDERS.

To Major M. R. Delany, *Hilton Head, S. C.*

Sir:—My attention has been called to your letter in the New York *Tribune* of yesterday, addressed to me in regard to colored men holding office, and I will briefly state my opinion. It may be observed, first of all, that some of our friends, and nearly all of our enemies, manifest a greater concern about the matter than we do ourselves. We have never claimed the right of suffrage because we are black, and have always held that the ground on which the dominant class have hitherto based their claims to it, that is, simply because they were white, was ridiculous and anti-Republican. Hence, the attempt to build either a white man's or a black man's party has ever been hateful to me. We claim impartial suffrage, with all its advantages, as the right of every American citizen, "without respect to race or color." Our motto should be "tools to those who can best use them," all the surrounding circumstances duly considered. I heartily approve of the course pursued by Secretary Stanton, in commissioning you and other colored men as officers of the United States Volunteers, and he might have in justice gone a great way further. Gens. Sheridan and Sickles did the right thing in their appointment of colored men to municipal offices in their commands; that was a "military necessity."

In regard to the appointment of colored men to Federal offices just now, I can only say that when the sovereign people command an American citizen to step into a place of high responsibility, it is the duty of the chosen man to obey that sovereign voice. But whoever attempts to elevate himself or others to office in the Federal government, simply on account of the color of their skins, is, in my opinion, guilty of an act of great folly. The conduct of the voters of the District of Columbia, and of Tennessee, meets my approval, and I presume that a similar course will be pursued throughout the South. This whole question, I think, will be safely managed by the great and growing Republican party that has conducted the country through the late civil war, and has abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, and sustained Lincoln's proclamation of freedom, and amended the Federal Constitution, and that passed the Freedmen's and Civil Rights, and Reconstruction bills. To this progressive and national party, under the guidance of Almighty God, we should, I think, intrust this matter. Yours truly,

Henry Highland Garnet.

New York, Aug. 6, 1867.

EX-ATTORNEY-GENERAL SPEED TO THE FREEDMEN.

The following excellent letter was sent to the committee of arrangement for the colored men's celebration of the 4th of July at Lexington, Kentucky:

Louisville, June 27, 1867.

To Messrs. Charles Perry, G. B. Thomas, and G. W. Smith, Committee, Lexington, Kentucky:

Gentlemen: Your communication of the 20th instant, inviting me to deliver an address to the colored citizens of Lexington, on the 4th prox., came duly to hand. As I am compelled to be in Washington city on the day of your meeting, I am forced to decline your polite invitation. You ask for advice. I deem it a pleasure and a privilege to give you the benefit of my counsel whenever you may wish it, and it is a source of much gratification to see that, thrown as you are to a certain extent upon your own resources, you are honestly and earnestly seeking for light, and are willing to learn of those who are of a larger experience than yourselves. You are now emphatically the architects of your own fortunes—your destinies are in your own hands. Your friends have done about all that can be done for you; what remains to be accomplished, must and can be accomplished by yourselves. Learn to appreciate fully the responsibilities which are resting upon you and the duties which you owe to yourselves, to your posterity and to your country. The world is watching you—your enemies predict for you the fate of the Indian, who is gradually but surely disappearing before the advance of civilization; your friends hopefully, confidently expecting your rapid advance to the position which, as citizens of this great republic, you are entitled to occupy. Cultivate all the virtues which enoble man; be honest, industrious and sober; educate yourselves, make money and learn to keep it; own your own homes; identify yourselves as good citizens with the communities in which you may live; in all your dealings with your fellow-men do as you would be done by, and respect yourselves that others may respect you. Much trouble is anticipated in the financial world, and one of the results of this will be suffering among the poor. In view of this, it is of the utmost importance that each and all of you should secure some steady remunerative employment. It were wise for those who have been raised in the country to seek employment there—the cities are already crowded with the starving poor, who are unable to find employment, and if, as it is anticipated, the cholera becomes epidemic this Summer, the crowded tenements and scanty fare of the poor of the city will surely invite and increase its ravages.

Again assuring you of my deep interest in the welfare of your race, I am, very respectfully,

James Speed.

NEGRO TALENT IN THE DRAMA.

IRA ALDRIDGE AND OTHER NEGRO CELEBRITIES AS ACTORS.

Since the name of Ira Aldridge has appeared so prominently of late in print—more directly in consequence of his sudden demise—the public appear to be aware for the first time that the negro has figured to any extent as an actor in this country or Europe, at least to any degree of excellence in the profession. And it is to be regretted that the death of this remarkable personage has transpired at a moment when, on the eve of his intended appearance in this country, his prospects of success were so flattering, as indicated in the happy criticism of the press throughout the land touching his past career, and his striking ability and genius in the profession he seems to have grasped by a natural aptness for the calling.

Aldridge's fortunes in the struggle for fame and the acquirement of favor seem to have been varied. For several years he pursued his favorite object in England, and, at one time, we hear of him as in abject poverty and distress. But he braved it through, and eventually reaped the reward of perseverance. The full tide of success awaited him on the Continent, and was fully realized by him in 1852, when his victory was complete and overwhelming.

In Austria, Germany, France, and pre-eminently in Russia, he has ever since enjoyed undisputed triumphs. It is said that in Moscow and St. Petersburg so great was his fame that the students often unharnessed the horses of his chariot and drew him home from the theatre as a conqueror.

An extraordinary fact about his success is, that he did not know the continental languages well enough to employ them upon the stage; and that from the very outset he has spoken his own parts in English. It is a high evidence of his ability that in a language utterly strange to his audiences, by sheer force of acting, by look, tone, gesture, attitude, movement, he should electrify and delight the most cultivated nations of Europe. Thus from poverty he has arisen to opulence. Nobility and royalty have showered upon him their favors. He was knighted, and bore the title of Chevalier. He wore rings presented to him by kings and queens; and he could load his breast with the decorations and medals of the different orders he received. He married a Swedish baroness, and they resided in a splendid mansion in the suburbs of London, near the Crystal Palace, and he owned not only the house he occupied, but five villas of equal proportions. Chevalier Ira Aldridge, thirty years ago the body servant of Wallack, may be ranked among the most successful men of the age.

Aldridge was not, however, the only negro aspirant for fame in connection with the stage. Morgan Smith, a colored tragedian of no ordinary talent, has recently been drawing large houses at Dundee and other cities in Scotland. A new drama written by him has been brought out under his direction with success.

Victor Sejour, the Private Secretary of Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, is a colored man, born in New Orleans, La., is quite young, and is said to be one of the most talented dramatic writers of the age.

Very recently we have noticed mention made of the successful career on the stage of a colored tragedienne by the name of Susan King, who has performed at Galveston, Texas.

PENNSYLVANIA.

THE NEGRO EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

On the 14th inst. the Pennsylvania Negro Equal Rights League held two harmonious and enthusiastic sessions. There was a very full attendance, and several speeches were delivered—one by the President, Wm. Nesbit, another by the Chaplain, Joseph R. Nelson—expressing joy at the progress made by the League in its educational efforts, and promising the day was not far distant when negroes would vote in Pennsylvania. Capt. E. H. Ranch, a white soldier of Dick Coulter's Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, spoke at length: Pennsylvania was no longer a slave-hunting ground, thanks to Thaddeus Stevens. (The mention of Mr. Stevens's name drew forth unbounded applause.) He promised that soon the right of franchise must be vested in the negro. In the afternoon, a series of resolutions were passed, thanking the Legislature for the bill granting negroes the right to ride in public conveyances, thanking Congress for its protection, congratulating the country on the Republican victory in Tennessee, counselling the negroes of the South to stand by the Republicans, who are their only hope here and there, and appointing a committee to visit Congress and press the extension of the Franchise bill to every State in the Union. Much important business was transacted. A letter from an Irish Attorney of Schuylkill County was read, promising his hearty support of the efforts for negro suffrage in Pennsylvania. The Convention will remain in session to-morrow. A mass meeting of negroes will be held this evening.

The above Convention held two more sessions on the 15th inst., and adjourned. Resolutions were passed condemning the course of Senators Fessenden, Trumbull, and other Republicans, in steadily refusing to face the question of Manhood Suffrage; and recommending voters of the South to support such men as Sumner, Stevens, Wade, and Stanton for the Chief-Magistracy; cautioning the freedmen of the South and elsewhere not to be deceived by mushroom politicians, but to remember those who had been their tried and true friends in the darkest hours of the nation's history. Mr. Forten, of Philadelphia, pronounced Grant as occupying an equivocal position, and lauded Wendell Phillips as the champion of the race. William Nesbit, of Altoona, was reelected President, and other officers were selected for the ensuing year. Resolutions were also passed denying the jurisdiction of the National League at Washington establishing a joint Radical newspaper for the newly-enfranchised negroes, and encouraging money remittances for the education of colored young men for politics and the rostrum.

NEW JERSEY.

FREE SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

An orderly and respectable free suffrage demonstration of colored people took place at Paterson on the 14th inst. A procession was formed at 9 o'clock, at the Wigwam, with mounted marshals, aids, etc., and, preceded by a full band, and carrying the national flag, the two colored councilmen of Paterson, with their visiting guests, marched through the streets to the depot, and took the train for Hoboken Grove, where platforms were erected, and from whence the Rev. John Paylor of Paterson, and Elias D. Conover of New York made addresses upon the extension of suffrage, the services rendered by blacks in the Union army, and their claims. The speeches were rational and moderate, and the whole affair most creditable. No liquor was sold on the grounds. J. M. Scovel was not present, although announced; colored men only occupied the rostrum. The rain in the afternoon put a sudden stop to the proceedings; but in the evening a large meeting was held at the Wigwam in Paterson, whereat addresses were made by Mr. Stansbury, member of the Legislature from Passaic, D. Howard Day, a colored speaker from New York, and others. The order was excellent, and the people of Paterson, of both parties, respected in a remarkable degree the rights of the men of color, and not along the whole line of the procession was heard an opprobrious remark. Dancing and music wound up this, the first, political demonstration of colored people of Northern New Jersey.

VIRGINIA.

The Rev. John V. Givens, colored canvasser in Virginia, thus defines his position politically:

"I carry the olive branch and the Republican standard of equality before the law for all men, irrespective of color. I was not in Richmond to indorse the Hunnicutt party, the Botts party, or any other aspirants for political preferment, but to carry out the objects for which the call was made; to indorse or rescind the 17th of April platform. I belong to the Republican party of America, and we cannot afford to lose a vote. We intend to keep all good, loyal Republicans, Botts, Hunnicutt, Pierpoint, and Underwood included. The Republican party of Virginia is safe. The Convention, in spite of wire-pullers, carried out the objects of the call, and closed in peace and harmony—and so mote it ever be."

ALABAMA.

WHIPPING FREEDMEN.

The Montgomery (Ala.) *Sentinel* of the 10th says: John Hays, Mathew Anderson, and John Middleton, citizens of Monroe county, reached here yesterday, under arrest, on a charge of flogging a freedman in the old-fashioned style. They are at the military camp on Court street, and will be tried by a military commission. One of them, we learn, is a Justice of the Peace.

THE PRESS.

NEGRO GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTH.

The fact that many even of the whites who would be permitted do not register, while the blacks all register and are all Radicals, determines in advance the character of the reconstructed State governments. They will be completely under the control of the negroes. Whether their officers are black or white will make little difference, since they will be answerable to black constituencies; but probably the greater portion of them will be black. That such governments will run into great abuses is as certain as it is that they will be formed; and their abuses will inevitably lead to a great political reaction.

The natural disgust of the proscribed whites at upstart negro domination, would prevent the success of such governments even if they perpetrated no bad legislation. It is not in human nature that the white population of the South should patiently submit to be governed by their former slaves, even if the freedmen could govern well. Negro equality would be distasteful enough; but negro superiority will not be tolerated except by compulsion. The impossibility of the negroes governing well does not result merely from the pride of race, or prejudice of race, which will cause their ascendancy to be detested, but also from the relative situation of the two races in respect to the property of the South.

When the government, that is, the taxing power, represents the poverty of the community, and not its property, there will be a constant tendency to rob property of its rights. As taxes will not be felt by the negroes who impose them, they will be voted liberally; and as the property-holders will not be represented, they will have no power to call reckless and wasteful legislators to account. Heavy taxation and a full treasury leads naturally to squandering prodigality; and surely the negroes have had no training which will preserve them from the corruption into which white rulers so easily fall when beset by temptation and opportunity. It is probable, therefore, that the negro governments, being under none of the restraints exerted by tax-paying constituencies, will be among the most wasteful and corrupt that ever existed. This will not result from the fact that the rulers are negroes, but from the fact that they are men. No race of men could be trusted under similar circumstances. When the government which lays taxes is not elected by, nor responsible to that part of the community which pays taxes, those who tax will be corrupt and they who are taxed will be oppressed. It would not be otherwise if both belonged to the same race; and the evil will probably be aggravated by the insolent contempt of the negroes for those whom they lately served as slaves, but now govern as rulers.

As the negroes will have full power to rob and oppress their late masters under the forms of law, it is easy to foresee the pretexts under which their extortions will be practiced. The predominant idea of negro legislation in the South will be, that the property of the South has been created by uncompensated negro labor, and belongs of right to those by whose sweat it was produced. The negroes will universally entertain this idea, and will urge it in justification of every attempt to perpetrate robbery under the name of taxation. The negroes will not only exercise all the powers and shirk all the burdens of government, but they will make extravagant expenditures for their schools, their churches, their hospitals, and for all kinds of charitable institutions; and they will moreover change the tenure of real estate so as to render it worthless to its white owners, and make it the easy prey of negro rapacity.

That things will take this course is as certain as it is that there is human nature in man. And equally certain it is, that this kind of oppression will provoke resistance and retaliation, and that nothing but military intimidation can prevent the outbreak of a bloody and exterminating war of races.—*N. Y. World.*

The New York *Herald*, which has recently been making one of its extraordinary political somersaults, indulges in the following:

THE ISSUE OF THE DAY—ARE WE TO BE GOVERNED BY A NEGRO BALANCE OF POWER?

The unprofitable conflict between the President and Congress has at last brought before the American people one of the most extraordinary and momentous issues ever presented as a governmental measure in any country since the Goddess of Reason was set up in Paris in the place of the Christian religion. This issue is presented in the radical programme of Southern reconstruction, and it is simply this—shall this country be governed hereafter at Washington through a negro balance of power? For seventy years, with a lucid interval here and there, we were governed by an imperious and insolent Southern oligarchy of three hundred thousand negro slaveholders. Finding, at length, that their balance of power slipped through their fingers, those three hundred thousand slaveholders plunged into the late so-called Confederate States headlong into a bloody rebellion, from which they emerged, after four years of tenacious and desperate fighting, utterly shorn of slavery and its political advantages. This old Southern oligarchy has thus ceased to exist, and the places which knew it shall know it no more for ever. But here the question arises—is the great North prepared for another Southern balance of power, which it is proposed shall be given to five hundred thousand negro voters, just released from the moral darkness and degradation of Southern slavery?

This is the great issue of the day; and how are we to meet it? After Gen. Grant, at the head of eleven hundred and fifty thousand Union soldiers in the field, had given the decisive blow to the slaveholders' rebellion at Appomattox Court House, the work of Southern reconstruction might have been satisfactorily accomplished within six months, had our Federal authorities, President and Congress, been governed by purely patriotic considerations. But with the collapse of the rebellion, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, through Abraham Lincoln's assassination, became President of the United States; and, unfortunately, from the very first day of this promotion, Mr. Johnson proved himself unequal and fearfully incompetent to grasp the duties and the advantages of his position. Otherwise, his first act after taking his oath of office, would have been a proclamation calling Congress together. This done, an agreement between President and Congress, with the meeting of the two houses, upon a plan of Southern reconstruction and restoration, would have been easy, and it would have been conclusive.

But, unduly inflated with foolish notions of his own wisdom and capabilities, Mr. Johnson began By assuming the functions of the law-making power, and so with the first regular meeting of Congress after his promotion to the White House the curtain was lifted on the old conflict between King and Parliament revived, with all our modern improvements. So far in this conflict Mr. Johnson has been baffled and beaten from point to point, until his policy has been reduced to the issue between a rigid and a liberal execution of the laws of Congress—"only this and nothing more." He wants a liberal application of the laws; and to this end his late Secretary of War has been suspended, and we have been given to understand that some other Cabinet changes, and the removal of several, if not all, of the five military commanders in the South will probably follow, and before the lapse of many days. But what will this signify? At first we were inclined to the opinion that the Radical programme might in this way be flanked and upset; but on looking a little deeper into the difficulty we find that it can be reached only by the people through Congress. The difficulty really lies in this reconstruction programme of Congress, the inevitable tendencies of which are to negro supremacy in the ten Southern States concerned, and to a negro balance of power in our national affairs.

In this reconstruction programme the Republican party, as represented by Congress, has been faithless to its professions and its pledges, and it has betrayed the confidence and disappointed the just expectations of the loyal States. No such dangerous and desperate party experiment as this of Southern reconstruction on the basis of Southern negro supremacy was ever demanded by the popular vote of the North, before or since the surrender of Lee. But unless these existing reconstruction laws of Congress are reached through Congress itself we fear that the President cannot divert them from negro supremacy without bringing upon himself the fate of Stanton. What we want, then, is such a pressure from the people of the North upon Congress, in our coming Fall elections, as will compel the two houses to reconstruct their measures of reconstruction, so far, at least, as to give the Southern whites fair play, as against the blacks, in this important business of rebuilding the political and social State institutions of these ten excluded Southern States. Surely, at least upon this issue of the supremacy of negro minorities over white majorities in the South, the public pulse may be effectively touched in the North, and upon this question even the present radical Congress may through our approaching fall elections.

COLOR AND OFFICE.

The *Nation* having taken exception to certain remarks of *Harper's Weekly*, published in The Standard of last week, the latter paper thus replies:

In a recent article we must have expressed ourselves very obscurely to be so wholly misapprehended by so sagacious a critic as the *Nation*. Mr. Wendell Phillips having said something which was loosely represented as absurd, we undertook to explain what we supposed him to mean. He said that he should not be satisfied until a colored citizen was elected Vice-President of the United States; and we suggested that he did not mean to say that a dark skin was of itself evidence of official capacity; but that nothing would prove the feeling of caste to be fully extirpated except an equal willingness to elect to office any citizen irrespective of color. We astutely reserved our own opinion upon the subject and were wholly intent upon explaining that of Mr. Ph

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 24, 1867.

GEN. GRANT, SECRETARY OF WAR.

When men offer poor excuses for an act, be sure they have no good reasons to give. The journals betray a lurking distrust of the propriety of Gen. Grant's act in assuming the War Department, by the haste they make to invent poor excuses for it.

They tell us the General was *obliged* as a military subordinate to obey the President's order. If the act was, without any doubt, a good one, why seek to excuse it on the ground of compulsion? When Chase accepted the Chief-Justiceship, nobody went about to find excuses for him. Ah, gentlemen, this act of Gen. Grant you cannot think a good one, else you would not seek to rob him of its merit and make somebody else responsible for it!

But we cannot do such discredit to the leading journals of the Republican party as to suppose they believe their own statements. Gen. Grant is the President's *military* subordinate—not a *civil* one. The President has a right to order him to report for duty to Washington—to give advice on the Indian war—to sit on a military Commission. All such orders Grant is obliged to obey.

But the President has no right to order Grant to paint the White House, to take charge of its garden, prepare a report for the amendment of the Tariff, or do any other *civil* duty.

Now the War Department is a *civil* office. These same journals allege that Johnson cannot remove Stanton because that is forbidden by the *Civil Office* Tenure Act, thus clearly confessing that the Secretaryship of War is a *civil* office; as, of course, it is. Mr. Johnson might therefore as rightfully order Grant to hoe potatoes behind the White House as to assume the War Department. The journals know this. So does Gen. Grant.

Indeed the President, in his communication to Grant, does not *order* him, but "*authorizes* and *empowers*" him to act as Secretary. And although Grant's letter to Stanton speaks confusedly of the President's "directing me to assume" the office; still he has sense enough to add "In notifying you of my ACCEPTANCE." Now subordinates do not *accept* orders; they obey them.

Let us hear no more of Grant's being *obliged* to take this office as, it was said, he was *obliged* to accompany Johnson on that disgraceful Western tour. On both occasions such statements were only flimsy excuses invented by Grant's toadies, to cover up the mistakes and servility of their idol.

The offering of such empty excuses gives us painful doubts of the mood in which Grant and his friends are at this moment. Congress represents the Republican party. Stanton belongs to it; that is his offence in Johnson's eyes. If Grant is a Republican, by what rule of party fidelity does he accept the office out of which Stanton has been turned simply for being a Republican? According to all the well-known rules of parties, Grant declares himself not a Republican. Any one who remembers Tyler's time will recall facts proving this.

The President put Grant into Stanton's place only to divert public attention and soften the indignation at Stanton's removal with the content at Grant's appointment. Grant will serve to bridge over from Stanton to Steedman, or some other hanger-on of the White House.

No doubt the President intends to remove the District Commanders. Then, he sees, Grant must either hold on and be responsible for it, or resign and make way for some of Johnson's creatures. The only other alternative is that Grant should submit to Sheridan's removal, and still hold office under the plea of preventing more mischief.

This is the plea on which Stanton has remained in office. He has worn it to rags.

This course is a sacrifice of all personal honor. It degrades a man from a Cabinet officer into a spy. At such a time as Buchanan's last six months—the whole government honeycombed with treason—such a course is allowable, as it is in war. But in ordinary times, no honorable man would stoop to it. In ordinary times no theory of citizenship calls on a man to spy and listen under the windows, and stand before the world responsible for a policy he abhors—in order, by such degradation, to serve his country. "I will die to serve my country," said the old Scotsman, "but I will not do a mean thing to save her." It is time Americans learned this lesson. Forgetting it, was the poison that ate out all national character in times past.

Besides, honest men consorting with knaves, in order to prevent their doing mischief, is false philosophy. It is the presence of honest men in the crew that enables it to do mischief. If two years ago Stanton and other reputable men had quitted Johnson on the plea, which they privately allowed, that he was a traitor, he would have been checkmated and thrown overboard.

To-day, if Grant had answered the President (according to what is asserted to be his private opinion): "Sir, you have no authority to suspend Stanton, and denying that right, as well as detecting the policy which leads you to wish his suspension, I decline to accept the place"—Johnson *could not have suspended Stanton.* Cheered, taught and sustained by such an act on Grant's part, the public would have exhibited such indignation at Johnson, and such approval of Grant's gallant fidelity to his comrade and his principles, as to have overawed Johnson. If after that he had dared to suspend Stanton, no decent man would have accepted the post; and the moment Congress assembled Johnson would have ceased to reign.

To-day Grant is the staff which holds up the traitor President. Without him Johnson could neither stand nor walk. Grant to-day enables the President to go on and remove Sheridan. It will be in vain for Grant to resign when the act is done, and cry out, "I disapprove." As well might the accomplice who hands the dagger to the murderer cry out, when the victim is dead, "I disapprove."

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

KINGSTON, Plymouth Co., Mass., August 20, 1867.

Twenty days ago we left our Nassau street editorial sanctum for a season of needful rest. As we take the pen for a few words with our readers this week, we are reminded, by a delightful and invigorating sea-breeze, how different city newspaper work would be if, during the two hot months, it could all be done at the sea-side. We compassionate, therefore, those who have kindly assumed, for the time being, our laboring oar, and all who are left in the close confinement of newspaper offices during the "heated term." We made our exit from the city by the steamer "Chauncey Vibbard," and enjoyed a pleasant day on the Hudson—a sail which, though ever so often repeated, never ceases to be delightful. We stopped first at Hudson, one of the oldest cities in the State, at one time boasting a larger whale fishing interest than New York; but now, with the new diversion of travel via the "Athens Cut-off," to be reached from the day steamers only by ferrying over from the equally ancient village of Athens. Though making little progress in the way of increase of business, Hudson is one of the most pleasantly located and healthful cities along the river. It has never been particularly hospitable to Radicalism, but it nevertheless maintains, in the *Columbia Republican*, one of the best toned, and certainly the best edited of the newspapers printed in the river counties. The Lyceum has been at Hudson, as in so many other places, the chief source of real progress in political, liberal opinion. Until narrow limitations are eliminated from political and religious associations, may the influence of the Lyceum never be less!

Our second stopping-place was at Ghent, specially interesting and pleasant to us, apart from other personal associations, as the town in which we received our first impressions of, and impulse in, the Anti-Slavery cause. That first lecture by Mr. STEPHEN S. FOSTER—who that heard him for the first time, as he spoke nineteen years ago, has yet been able to forget him? Nor, with his advance toward the venerable in years, has he even now grown very tame and conservative in speech! We gratefully remember the simultaneous visit and lectures of Mrs. ABBY KELLEY FOSTER as enlisting very fully and deeply our sympathy and conscientious interest in the great conflict for impartial freedom, which, though in an advanced stage of progress, is not yet definitely ended by complete victory. Scarred in battle, and well-nigh spent in the struggle, may her life be sparred to witness the apparently not distant culmination which shall bring a guaranteed equality to the victim race for whose redemption and elevation her unwearied energies have been sublimely consecrated.

Leaving Ghent, beautiful in its endless variety of surface and blending outlines, unusually fresh and attractive with this year's foliage and verdure, we next visited Northampton, in this State. Near Northampton, at Florence, our friend CHARLES C. BURLEIGH has settled as the preacher (for half the time) of the First Free Congregational Society. At a cost of thirty thousand dollars to himself, a wealthy citizen of Florence has erected a building, which includes a spacious chapel for the Free Congregational Society; a Sunday-school lecture room; a free library and reading room (open on *Sundays* and every evening); and large rooms, with first-class appointments, for a public school. This building has been donated to the town, with a reserved right in favor of the Free Congregational Society for ten years. The name of the generous donor, whom we are happy also to number among the patrons of THE STANDARD, is Mr. S. L. HILL. We commend his example to others who have the means to go and do likewise. Mr. Burleigh, as a teacher of true Radicalism, in doing excellent service in that locality, in which he has the co-operation of a considerable number of noble men and women. The Society to which he preaches is organized upon a very liberal basis, intended in no-wise to interfere, by arbitrary limitation, with the freedom of individual opinion, but by association upon the broadly catholic basis to achieve added strength for good works, and to gain new incentives to individual effort and progress. Similar meetings, without as yet an organization, are held in Northampton. They are addressed alternately by Mr. Burleigh and invited speakers from abroad. Among the well-known speakers who have from time to time spoken here are Ralph Waldo Emerson, Samuel Longfellow, Rev. Mr. Morse, of the *Radical*, Rev. Mr. Towne, S. S. Foster, Mrs. Stanton, A. B. Alcott, Lucy Stone, Theodore D. Weld, and others. Mr. and Mrs. Seth Hunt, of Northampton—earnest friends of all good enterprises—are actively interested to extend the influence and usefulness of these meetings. We met very pleasantly, also, Mr. H. M. Burt, who founded, and until recently edited, the Northampton *Free Press*. He is the present editor of the *New England Homestead*, and is a true-hearted friend of freedom.

Briefly stopping by the way in Worcester, Cambridge and Boston, we have found in this town, which is in close proximity to old Plymouth Rock, and near the shore, the cooling rest we required and sought during the August heat. We have found the bathing at Duxbury beach invigorating, the sea-breeze very grateful, the chowder unrivalled, and the crowd of people sufficiently moderate to be nowise inconvenient. The number of visitors increases each year as the locality becomes better known among those who seek real rest, which cannot be as readily found at the fashionable and popular resorts. Adjoining, or a continuation of Duxbury beach, is Marshfield, which is also quite extensively visited. The name of Marshfield is more widely known as associated with the dead and unresurrected Webster. The Webster homestead, which we saw yesterday, is a truly beautiful, quiet retreat, and as such it must have been highly valued by its former owner. It is now in the possession of Mrs. Fletcher Webster. An adjoining residence, fitted up for and for a time occupied by Fletcher Webster, is at present owned and occupied by Miss Adelaide Phillips, of opera notoriety. As Johnson makes what is remembered of Buchanan and Pierce almost respectable; so Seward, in his pitiable fall and wretched political debauchery, causes Webster's career to be nearly forgotten. But Marshfield has a valuable lesson which it is not yet too late, nor is it too soon, for some of our public men to learn.

The news of Sheridan's removal has just reached us. Nobody is surprised. Indeed, hardly anything would be surprising, unless it should be found in November that Senators and Representatives became equal to impeaching and deposing the reckless and besotted "Impediment" of the White House. First Stanton, next Sheridan removed, because, as in the massacres of New Orleans and Memphis, Grant agrees!

If the removal of Stanton and Sheridan will relieve us of Johnson in November, as it ought, and save the "Radicals" from nominating Grant, the country can richly afford the removals.

A. M. P.

MR. GARRISON AND THE JACKSON BEQUEST.

By request of Mr. Garrison's sons we print the following letter, alluded to in THE STANDARD of August 10th, and written by him for the Master in Chancery in the matter of Francis Jackson's will:

ROXBURY, May 7, 1867.

DEAR MR. MAY: I have been duly notified that the adjourned hearing before the Master in Chancery, under the order of the Supreme Judicial Court, in the case of *Jackson ex. vs. Phillips et al.*, will be had at his office, No. 4 Court street, Boston, on Wednesday, May 15th, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. As I am to embark to-morrow for Europe, it will not, of course, be possible for me to attend the meeting aforesaid. Nevertheless, as one of the Trustees in this case, I respectfully ask to be permitted in this manner to say in brief, what I might otherwise say more at length, in what way I think the anti-slavery legacies conveyed in the will of Francis Jackson would be applied most in accordance with his wishes, could he speak for himself in the time.

The whole amount remaining to be expended I understand to be about nine thousand two hundred dollars. You will recollect that when the matter was submitted to the Trustees, some time ago, in order to obtain their views for the consideration of the Master in Chancery and the Court, it was voted, on my motion, that five thousand dollars should be given to the New England Freedman's Union Commission, and four thousand two hundred dollars to the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD at New York. I made this motion, as you are aware, not as in accordance with my wish or judgment as to the wisest use of the money, so far as THE STANDARD was concerned, but solely because of the nearly equal division of opinion in the Board of Trustees, and wishing to avoid every appearance of unfairness in the adjustment of this *vexata quæstio*. You and Mr. Bowditch were absent on that occasion, though represented by letter or by proxy. It is proper to state that only Mr. Whipple and myself audibly voted for my motion; Mr. Edmund Jackson and Mr. Quincy only seemingly acquiescing in it by silence, though in reality not approving it, Mr. Quincy being in favor of appropriating the whole of the legacy to the Freedman's Commission, and Mr. Jackson in favor of giving one fourth of it to the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and the remainder to the Commission.

Mr. Phillips, at that interview, dwelt upon the importance of securing the ballot for the freedman as paramount to every other consideration, and accordingly argued the expediency and propriety of sustaining the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, because of its advocacy of the suffrage question. All the Trustees were for vindicating the right of the freedmen alike to the ballot and to education; but we were not agreed as to the precise channel through which to make that vindication. Happily, since we met, by the Reconstruction bill passed by Congress, the Southern freedmen have been put in possession of the elective franchise, and are now voting and even being voted for; and though it is true that in some of the Northern States colored men are denied that right, all the signs of the times indicate that, ere long, this proscriptive policy will be abandoned.

Under these circumstances, I feel released from adhesion to the motion I made as aforesaid, and would advise that no division of Mr. Jackson's bequest be made; but that it be given without delay, and as a whole, to the New England Freedman's Union Commission, thoroughly satisfied that it cannot be so surely and efficiently expended for the enlightenment, elevation and freedom of the emancipated bondmen of the South through any other channel or instrumentality. The officers and managers of the Commission are among the most trustworthy citizens in the State.

Very truly, yours,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Rev. S. May, Jr.

COMMENT.

The above letter gives the reasons why Mr. Garrison declined to fulfil the agreement made by the Trustees, in February, at his suggestion, and why he refused to give any weight to the opinions of the majority of them.

We never doubted the entire sincerity of Mr. Garrison. We have only complained that he, one of the minority, was not willing to allow any weight to the opinions of the majority of the Trustees—men appointed by Mr. Jackson to represent him just as fully as Mr. Garrison was.

Slavery having been legally abolished, the Court ordered that the money bequeathed should be used to carry out as nearly as possible what would be the wishes of the Testator in such circumstances. It is certain that, in any case of doubt as to his wishes, Francis Jackson would have preferred that his brother and Executor, Edmund Jackson, and his life-long fellow-workers, W. I. Bowditch, Charles K. Whipple and Wendell Phillips should decide for him rather than that Judges Gray and Bigelow should do it. The Trustees were assured that any plan they could *agree* to recommend would be adopted by the Court.

Our complaint is, that Mr. Garrison acted as if he were the sole Trustee. When his arguments failed to convince his fellows—men entrusted by Mr. Jackson with the same power as himself—he appealed to an outside authority, a prejudiced and pro-slavery Court—one which had just decided that it was illegal to leave money to secure women's voting; he appealed to such a power to crush the fellow Trustees whom he could not convince.

The arguments set forth in this letter, which satisfied him, failed to satisfy them. The month of May found Messrs. Bowditch and Jackson and their fellows still more decided in their opinions, and desirous that THE STANDARD should have even a larger proportion than they at first suggested. No Congressional action had changed their views.

Thus the same honest and irreconcilable difference of opinion which led Mr. Garrison, in February, to offer a compromise for a fair "adjustment of this *vexata quæstio*," existed in May. In February he deferred to it. But in May he was not willing to pay any respect to it whatever. Instead of this, he seized the baton of law to crush opinions which his arguments could not change—the baton of lawyers who, he must have been aware, were wholly unable to do justice to the character and ideas of Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Garrison's friends and ours will judge whether the state of public affairs justify him in such a course. To us it seems unjust to Mr. Jackson and unfair and unfriendly to Mr. Garrison's co-Trustees.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Last Autumn, Wendell Phillips opened his speech at Cooper Union, New York, with these words:

"This is the 25th day of October, 1866. On the 25th day of October, 1865, standing on this platform, I ventured to say that the President of the United States, instead of being a mistaken friend, was a determined enemy of the Republic; that instead of being a comrade to be conciliated, he was a foe to be opposed; instead of a bulwark to hide behind, he was an obstacle to be removed. I ventured to say that the rebellion, defeated in Virginia, had taken up its headquarters in the White House. But one-tenth of my audience accepted my statement, and nine-tenths received it with hisses or silent indignation. An eventful year has rolled over our heads since; and I think if the vote was taken in any audience in the land to-night, the proportion that dissented from me then would agree with me now." (Applause.)

In the course of the same speech, referring to Grant's inaction before and after the New Orleans massacre, Mr. Phillips said:

"No; while New Orleans and Memphis are possible, I assert again—and *a year hence* you will agree with me (laughter)—that the most humiliating position occupied to-day by an American is held by the Lieutenant-General of the United States." (Cries of "No!" cheers and hisses.)

It lacks two months yet, of the time indicated by Mr. Phillips in the latter passage; but who—reading the New York *Tribune's* editorial, Aug. 21, on Sheridan's removal, and remembering the above prediction—will fail to recognize the application?

From our esteemed friend, Alfred H. Love, we have received a copy of an interesting article bearing mainly upon our relations with the Indians, now a source of such trouble, and showing a *better way* for governments and individuals to follow than the brutal and invariable resort to arms for the settlement of difficulties. The folly of the government in needlessly waging a war of extermination against the "poor Indian" is argued at length and in a spirit of gentleness; the enormous outlay of such unchristian undertaking is eloquently and forcibly set forth; and the truer policy, as conceived by the writer, of *drawing* instead of *repelling*; of *mingling with* instead of *excluding* and *driving away*; of meeting them as *friends* and extending the hand of *assistance* and *enlightenment* instead of *cheating* and *wronging* them in every conceivable manner, is ably and cogently set forth. We trust that views so commending themselves to every reflecting person will be duly pondered, and that those harrowing and disgraceful occurrences known as *Indian difficulties* will speedily cease.

ROBERT PURVIS.—Since the publication of the notice urging the claims of this well-known gentleman as a representative in our National Legislature, and particularly recommending him to the colored electors of the South, numerous letters have been received from various sections of the country, all agreeing as to the fitness of such nomination, and uniting as to his eminent qualifications for such position. We do not know that Mr. Purvis desires or would accept of such responsibilities as would thereby be incurred, but we know that such men are needed in our National Councils; and we agree with his friends in declaring that such election would be an honor and a benefit to the country.

PERSONAL.

Mr. and Mrs. Gerritt Smith are in Springfield.

Miss C. L. Kellogg, the American operatic artist, sailed for England by the Cunard steamer.

Mrs. Abigail H. Folsom, better known as "Abby Folsom," for many years prominent in the Anti-Slavery movement, died at Rochester, N. H., on the 5th inst., aged seventy-five years.

It is credibly rumored that Gen. Howard is about to be removed from the Bureau; also, that the position was, about a month ago, offered to John M. Langston, the colored lawyer of Ohio, but declined. This was the President's second offer to Mr. Langston, the first having been the mission to Hayti.

The numerous friends of Mrs. Frances D. Gage, better known to the reading public as "Aunt Fanny," lies very ill at her residence at Lambertsville, N. J. Mrs. Gage had designed visiting Kansas the coming Fall, to assist the advocates of *Woman Suffrage* in fighting the battle of equality, but we fear this illness (a slight paralytic attack of a fortnight past) will entirely prevent it. We trust soon to hear of her recovery to health.

Col. R. J. Hinton, so long and favorably known for his devotion to the cause of freedom, sailed from this city on the 17th inst., in steamship Iowa, for Glasgow. He will be absent between three and four months, and in France and England will visit the principal establishments conducted on the co-operative, co-partnership and associative labor principles, for the purpose of presenting the results of his investigation in a series of letters for the *Cincinnati Gazette* and *Boston Advertiser* of this country. Col. Hinton will also act as Commissioner of Emigration for Kansas, the State in whose early history he bore so active a part.

Chief-Justice Chase writes to a friend in Philadelphia as follows, in correction of recent reports concerning his private fortune: "I don't want to be represented as particularly poor or particularly disinterested. I think I am worth now about one hundred thousand dollars. I should at any rate be quite willing to take that sum in five-twenties, and make a clear conveyance of all I have in the world to anybody who will pay my debts. I would willingly be worth a great deal more if I knew of an honest way to get worth more. All that the people are interested in knowing is, that I haven't a cent which of right belongs to them. I didn't serve them to make money out of them, but to save money for them; and I really feel that the rascals who are slandering me ought to be denounced, and the mean attempt to injure me in the public esteem exposed. It is much more important to the people than it is to me that those who have served them faithfully shall be fully and generally sustained, otherwise rascality will be at a premium, and those who are trying to make them suspect me will run their arms to their shoulders in their money bags.

WAY-MARKS.

THE public announcement that "THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD may be obtained regularly at No. 85 Barrow street, New Orleans," is the inscription on one of the mile-stones which mark the progress of our cause. Its appearance was a joyful surprise even to those of us who have taken careful note of these way-marks which we are rapidly passing. To the faith and hope which sustained us in the early days of our enterprise is now added the cheering sight of grand results, in such measure that the most timid and doubting souls can no longer fear its ultimate success. Though its progress *seems* more rapid now than in the years when we were ploughing our field and sowing deep in its furrows our precious seed, probably it is not really so. The early processes of germination and growth hidden in the soil, go on steadily and rapidly, as when, at a later stage of development, leaves and flowers open and fruit matures in the sunlight. The seeds of anti-slavery truth which we sowed and watered for many years, were striking deep roots and spreading them wide beneath the soil, and pushing vigorous shoots upward, and steadily preparing the brilliant flowering and rich fruitage now revealed in glory to our expectant eyes.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, from the hour of its organization, has been steadily extending itself and its influences, from city to city, from State to State, North, South, East and West, until, to-day, it publicly speaks in New Orleans. True, it speaks there by the protection of United States bayonets; but that those bayonets are there protecting it is a token of the immense progress of our cause. The growth, the life of this cause cannot be written in human language. Only Omniscience can perceive the myriad influences of thought and fact which occurring and acting instantaneously or successively both as effects and causes, have created this grand result. Life never can be written; it is many-sided. What we call history is a line stretching across it, touching its prominent points. Yet even this shall be enough to show to future generations the moral power which dwelt in the Anti-slavery enterprise, and so strengthen the faith of reformers yet to come. This enterprise, in its onward course, has built a pathway, solid and smooth, upon which the chariot wheels of many another reform shall roll to victory. Even now that great enterprise which demands justice for woman is passing along this causeway with wonderful rapidity.

A beneficent law of the universe secures to each generation the moral triumphs won by the preceding generations; and when our work is done, and our black and white fellow-citizens are equally secured in their liberty; we shall have accomplished not only this specific reform; shall have won not only this grand victory for our own nation and our own age; but we shall have taken a bond from the future for the speedier success of every battle for the right. Therefore, for the sake of all Christian warriors who are to succeed us, as well as for the full enfranchisement of the American slave, it behoves us to *accomplish thoroughly* our work.

M. G.

THE STOPPING PLACE OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

If there were any danger that the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society should underrate the value of their organ, and remit their efforts for its support, they might read their rebuke in the great daily journals of the land. On this point the testimony of our opponents is explicit, and is of great value. The New York *Times* tells us that THE STANDARD has been, for some time past, the source of inspiration for the advanced wing of the Republican party, and that journal thinks it very important to know what the Abolition party proposes to do next; because, judging from the past, whatever they *propose* to-day, may be *law* to-morrow.

This judgment of the New York *Times* is merely the result of careful observation and sagacious forecast. When we try to recount the victories of our cause; when we contrast the condition of the black man of the South to-day with his condition a few years ago, we are overwhelmed with wonder and gratitude. We stand amazed at the fulfilment of our own prophecies—the answer to our own prayers. The *Times* cannot tell, and would evidently like to be informed, "where this movement is to stop, or if it is to stop at all." For it has observed that every victory of the Anti-Slavery party has proved to be the precursor of new demands. Our response to such inquiries is always ready. The Anti-Slavery party proposes to stop when the end for which it was organized shall be accomplished. That end, as the nation knows, or ought to know by this time, is the freedom of the colored race in this land. It proposes to demand what it has always demanded, that freedom shall be the acknowledged birth-right and secured possession of black and white alike. It will not be satisfied or silenced with anything short of this. Freedom, complete, actual, and secure; not merely promised, proclaimed, or even legalized by State or Congressional statutes, but in actual possession, and so secured by the United States Constitution that the treachery and ingenuity of Southern legislation shall not be able, after reconstruction shall be accomplished, to keep the promise to the ear and break it to the hope. In this great moral warfare, now of more than thirty years duration, we cannot be satisfied with a partial victory, or with the *appearance* of a complete victory. By the black man's side we must stand, and in his name demand, protest, and fight, until he is able to stand without us, and defend his own right to freedom as every white man on American soil may do.

The day seems to be rapidly approaching when the American people, white and black, will need all the moral power, all the vital energy, of the Anti-Slavery Society to save them from drifting backward to ruin. The Republican party, the political hope of the land, is passing through a fearful ordeal of temptation to sacrifice its vital principles, all the value of its existence, in order to promote its success at the next Presidential election. Dare the *true* friends of freedom leave the destiny of the black man in the hands of that party which has again and again proved itself assailable by such temptations? In such an hour as this every Abolitionist should stand firmly at his post, watching with eagle eye every political movement, unyielding in his demand for absolute justice for the black man, whom even Republican politicians will consent to sacrifice to the party's success; with the old excuse and promise that the power thus won shall be used in the cause of justice and freedom; a sophism as old as Satan, and eminently worthy of him.

M. G.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 18th, 1867.

Your New York municipal government has the credit—and the discredit—of being rather wicked; and we pity you accordingly. Now, as one good turn deserves another, be pleased to pity us, whose city authorities, even when wishing and trying to do good things, seem too stupid to do them in the right way.

We have for many years suffered under two public nuisances, locally known as "the Church street nuisance" and "the Northampton street nuisance," where the want of proper drainage, and of the indispensable pre-requisites to proper drainage, have been doing immense injury to the health, and the manners, and the morals of Boston, not to speak of such small matters as cleanliness and good looks. Well, measures have been set in motion to abate these nuisances, and those of us who live long enough, will see their removal; but, in the meantime, we see going on the deliberate creation of another nuisance of the same sort.

One of the three hills of Boston (called "Fort Hill," from the use to which it was applied in revolutionary times), is found to be too high and too steep, and its area is wanted on a lower grade, to supply the increasing demands of business. So our city fathers are cutting down the hill; but instead of leaving the surface at a moderate elevation, they are actually reducing it to the level of the low grounds about it, close to the tide water, where proper drainage will be as impracticable as it now is in the Church street region. They are laboriously and expensively *manufacturing* a nuisance, which, if not checked immediately, will require vast labor and expense for its future abatement.

Many of the fine trees on our Common, noble English elms dating from the ante-revolutionary period, and others, are gradually dying, for want of intelligent care. This is bad enough; but the fate of some has been recently hastened in a most unjustifiable manner, by allowing Milesian laborers, digging trenches for drain-pipes in various directions on the Common, to cut off the roots, small and large, which came in their way. The early-changing leaves of some of these trees already announce the fatal injury which they have received.

People acquainted with Newburyport, the town where Mr. Garrison was born—and who remember the former aspect of the centre of its business, State street, as seen from the head of the Boston turnpike—will recollect as one chief ornament of that view the line of stately lime or linden trees standing before the "Brown house," about half way down the street. It was of its owner that the boys (of never mind how many years ago) used to sing—

"Bartlett, Pettingill and Brown
Are three of the richest men in town."

Well, those noble trees *are not*. They withered and mouldered away, dropping one branch after another for a succession of years, until they became an eye-sore, requiring the axe to be called in for their removal. Their decay began from the time, long ago, when the proprietor—I don't remember whether it was Brown himself, or another B. who inherited the house as his son-in-law, that was so stupid—cut away not only the roots of one side, but a portion of the trunks of these splendid trees, for no better reason than that an iron fence in front of the house might form a continuous straight line from one of its posts to the other!

In Gail Hamilton's lively and even brilliant book, "Wool-Gathering," the record of a journey West to Minnesota, and then South to Georgia, a question is asked which many people are frequently asking, and which needs to be answered. Noticing that an immense crop of hatred to the North has been springing up among the Southern people for years, and teaching the just doctrine that our part now is to exercise the utmost forbearance, Gail says: "Our papers sometimes quote fierce, wild, hateful and hating words from Southern journals. I cannot see the good of it. Why not take it for granted that they do hate us bitterly, and then let it alone?" The answer is: To "let it alone" *before* the method of reconstruction is settled in the right way, and put in actual operation, would be safe neither for the negroes, nor the loyal whites, nor the government, nor the country. The first practical effort of the hateful and hating spirit which declares itself everywhere in the South will be to choose for town, county, State and national officers the very men who led them into rebellion as a method of sustaining slavery. The ex-slaveholding gentry of the South are still venerated, courted, idolized by the Southern people. While Lee and Semmes were prevented from taking part in political life, they made one President of a College, and the other a Professor of Moral Philosophy. But it is of just such men that they *wish* to make Governors, Legislators, Congressmen, a President. Our present President favors this sort of reconstruction many intriguing politicians favor it; many copperhead Senators and Representatives are ready to vote for it; there is no security against its actual execution, until the civil and military leaders of the rebellion are, by Act of Congress, shut out from political life, whether as office-holders or voters. Until that time shall come, it is indispensably needful that evidence of the still active and virulent disloyalty of the South shall still be published at the North.

Gail Hamilton continues:

"Now, I would not compromise one claim demanded by national justice or national safety, but further than this I would not go. If they wish to support Mrs. Davis and her children, let them. If they want to strew the graves of their soldiers with flowers, by all means let them. If women wish to walk in the middle of the streets, up to their ankles in mud and mire, following the funeral train of a favorite general, why lisp a syllable to oppose them?"

To all this I heartily agree; and perhaps she means by the first sentence precisely what I have said in the preceding paragraph. But that point—the exclusion of leaders in the rebellion from the opportunity of intriguing against the rights, civil, political or social, of those citizens whom they formerly held as slaves—is so immensely important that it needs to be *specified* as an exception when one is inculcating indulgence and forbearance. The aristocrats of the South have lost slavery; but if restored to power they will preserve and maintain *caste*; and our part is to watch carefully that no power which can be used against the freedmen in any way shall be put into their hands.

Just after I had written the foregoing, came the statement that "Jeff. Davis recently said in conversation that the Tennessee election will probably inaugurate a war of races, and he believed there was no other course open for the whites in that State than to discharge the Radical blacks from their employment. As to the proposition that it would be well to put a few negroes in office for the purpose of creating a reactionary feeling against them, he said it might do as a matter of spite, but would be a bad precedent."

There *may* be no good foundation for the report that Jeff. Davis said this, but it is inherently a probable statement. The pro-slavery aristocracy of the South wish it to be believed that the attempt at practical equality between white and black would produce "a war of races," and therefore they unscrupulously assert this, and make it their excuse for interfering against such equality. Every man of that class chosen to any town, county or State office (that is to say invested with official power capable of being used for unjust discrimination between black and white), is just like a pebble dropped into a machine—so much obstruction to its correct and satisfactory working. And until the working of our national machine is fully regulated by laws accordant with liberty and equal rights, there should be incessant vigilance to bar out such obstructions. The rule of action in this case is simple and clear; *convicted criminals are unfit to be either voters, or legislators, or executors of law.*

NORTH.

THE NEGRO AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THE following extracts from the Address of the National Labor Congress, lately convened at Chicago, on the position of the colored laborer, it is submitted, may not prove uninteresting to the readers of THE STANDARD:

"The condition of the negro, as a slave, and the moral and economical effects of slavery, were discussed by the press, from the public rostrum, and in the halls of Congress for many years. What shall be his status as a free man is at present no less a matter of national anxiety. But his interest as a working man, and especially the part he is to take in advancing the cause of labor, have as yet received no consideration. Unpalatable as the truth may be to many, it is needless to disguise the fact that the black man must necessarily become, in his new relationship, an element of strength or an element of weakness, and it is for the working men of America to say which it shall be. The systematic organization and consolidation of labor must henceforth become the watchword of the true reformer. To accomplish this, the co-operation of the African race must be secured. If those most directly interested fail to perform this duty, others will avail themselves of it to their injury. Indeed, a practical illustration of this self-evident truth was afforded in the recent importation of colored caulkers from Portsmouth, Va., to Boston, Mass., during the struggle on the eight-hour question. What is wanted, then, is for every Union to help inculcate the grand, ennobling idea that the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel; that there is but one dividing line—that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors, and the class that lives upon the labors of others. This is the true and only division of mankind necessary to be made by us as working men. The interests of all on our side of the line are the same, and should we be so far misled by prejudice or passion as to refuse to aid the spread of Union principles among any of our fellow-toilers, we should be untrue to them, untrue to ourselves, and false to the great cause we profess to have at heart. If these general principles be correct, we must seek the co-operation of the African race in America. But, aside from all this, the working men of the United States have a special interest in seeking the co-operation of the negroes. The colored race is being rapidly educated, and will be soon admitted to all the privileges and franchises of citizenship. That they will neither die out nor be exterminated is now regarded as a settled fact. Seeing that they are to live among us, the question to be decided is, Shall we make them our friends, or shall capital be allowed to turn them as an engine against us? They number four millions, and a greater proportion of them labor with their hands than can be counted from the same number of any other class of people on earth. Their moral influence and their strength at the ballot-box would be of incalculable value to the cause of labor. Can we afford to lose this? Can we afford to reject their proffered co-operation, and make them enemies? By committing such an act of folly we should inflict greater injury upon the cause of labor reform than the combined efforts of capital could accomplish. Capital's cherished idea of an antagonism between white and black labor would be realized! and as the Austrian despotism makes use of the hostility between the different races which compose that empire to maintain its existence, so capital, North and South, would foment discord between whites and blacks, and hurl one against the other, as interest and occasion might require, to maintain its ascendancy and continue the reign of oppression. Lamentable spectacle! Labor warring against labor, and capital smiling and reaping the fruits of the mad contest."

The position taken by the Labor Convention on the Land Question coincides with the views of those who hold that the land in the Southern States should be held in trust by those who cultivate it. They believe in the extension of the principle, that the only tenure by which land should be held is that of satisfactory personal (not deputized) labor thereupon. They are willing to pay, and pay well for man's labor, but are unwilling to be taxed for the gifts of the Deity, of which they hold fertile land to be most valuable. It is natural that they should wish to obtain their food, clothing and shelter, at the lowest possible rates, and they assert that a very heavy interest is collected from them for every dollar of artificial value placed on (what they assumed ought to be considered in law) the common inheritance of mankind. After quoting Cobden and Bright, Madison, Monroe and Jackson, they sum up thus: "The tools to him who has the ability and the skill to use them, and the lands to those who have the will and the heart to cultivate them."

They admit the fact that gold and silver are proper mediums of exchange, not only for the reasons given by all political economists, but mainly because they are eminently results which can only be obtained by severe human toil. Human labor for human labor being their maxim, they naturally object to paper money, in the extended issue of which, in place of the precious metals, they hold themselves as producers to be wronged, not only here but throughout the civilized world. They claim that, as a currency, paper money does not at all fulfil the requirements of political economists, and deplore the casuistry which induced the Congress of the time to neglect the direct assessment of the property of the nation to pay for its defence. They lament the policy which prevailed on the government to submit to the usurious exactions under which the debt was incurred, and comment with contempt on the fluctuating

patriotism of the national money-lenders, which daily, and even hourly, noted every phase of the war with greedy solicitude. Recognizing paper money as the equivalent for toil, they declare the effect of its issue has been to depreciate the value of human labor, the commodity they have to sell. In the address before us they state "that an antagonism between labor and capital must necessarily exist we do not believe; that, under our iniquitous monetary and financial system—the result of legislation—it does exist, is a self-evident proposition. No man will refuse to recognize the truth of this statement; neither can any one who has had practical experience, and has looked about him in the world, fail to perceive that the one grand cause of all the evils to which we have alluded, and many others which will forever remain unspoken and unwritten, but which are silently gnawing at the hearts of thousands, is the robbery which capital perpetrates on labor through legislation."

The remarks made by the Convention on the question of the "Labor of Women" are as follows: "The position of the laboring classes, as a body, upon the question of women's labor has been grossly misrepresented. They have objected, and naturally, too, to the introduction of female labor, when used as a means to depreciate the value of their own, when, under the specious plea of 'disinterested philanthropy,' the ulterior object has not been the elevation of woman, but the degradation of man, as has been the case, in almost every instance, where the labor of one has been brought into competition with that of the other. We claim that, if they are capable of filling the positions now occupied by the stronger sex, and in many cases they are eminently qualified to do so, they are entitled to be treated as their equals, and to receive the same compensation for such services. That they do not is *prima facie* evidence that their employment is merely a question of self-interest, from which all other considerations are excluded."

From the most important of these extracts it will be perceived that the (manual) laboring portion of the community are projecting a union of their forces. They declare that, united, they hold in this Republic the keys of power—the common school (intellectual force), and the ballot, (political force.) Questions on finance and political economy are fully canvassed in their unions. Of course, they are discussed from the stand-point of the producer, and not from that of the trafficer or financier. It would really appear as if the destruction of serfdom in Russia and slavery in the United States (the foundation-stones of our present industrial systems) were destined, in the near future, to effect much greater changes than we have yet seen, although we have witnessed the miracles of the past six years.

R. W. HUME.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SPEECH OF GEORGE WM. CURTIS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

(Continued from Fourth Page.)

But I shall be told, in the language of the Report of the committee, that the proposition is openly at war with the distribution of functions and duties between the sexes. Translated into English, Mr. Chairman, this means that it is unwomanly to vote. Well, sir, I know that at the very mention of the political rights of women, there arises in many minds a dreadful vision of a mighty exodus of the whole female world, in bloomers and spectacles, from the nursery and kitchen to the polls. It seems to be thought that if women practically took part in politics, the home would be left a howling wilderness of cradles and a chaos of undarned stockings and buttonless shirts. But how is it with men? Do they desert their workshops, their plows and offices, to pass their time at the polls? Is it a credit to a *man* to be called a professional politician? The pursuits of men in the world, to which they are directed by the natural aptitude of sex, and to which they must devote their lives, are as foreign from political functions as those of women. To take an extreme case: there is nothing more incompatible with political duties in crooking and taking care of children than there is in digging ditches or making shoes, or in any other necessary employment, while in every superior interest of society growing out of the family, the stake of women is not less than men, and their knowledge is greater. In England, a woman who owns shares in the East India Company may vote. In this country she may vote as a stockholder upon a railroad from one end of the country to another. But if she sells her stock and buys a house with the money, she has no voice in the laying out of the road before her door, which her house is taxed to keep and pay for. And why, in the name of good sense, if a responsible human being may vote upon specific industrial projects, may she not vote upon the industrial regulation of the State? There is no more reason that men should assume to decide participation in politics to be unwomanly than that women should decide for men that it is unmanly. It is not our prerogative to keep women feminine. I think, sir, they may be trusted to defend the delicacy of their own sex. Our success in managing ours has not been so conspicuous that we should urgently desire more labor of the same kind. Nature is quite as wise as we. Whatever their sex incapacitates women from doing they will not do. Whatever duty is consistent with their sex and their relation to society, they will properly demand to do until they are permitted.

The reply to the assertion that participation in political power is unwomanly, and tends to subvert the family relation, is simple and unanswerable. It is that we cannot know what is womanly until we see the folly of insisting that the theories of men settle the question. We know now what the convenience and feelings of men decide to be womanly. We shall know what *is* womanly in the same sense that we know what is manly, only when women have the same equality of development and the same liberty of choice as men. The amendment I offer is merely a prayer that you will remove from women a disability, and secure to them the same freedom of choice that we enjoy. If the instincts of sex, of maternity, of domesticity, are not persuasive enough to keep them in the truest sense women, it is the most serious defect yet discovered in the divine order of nature.

When, therefore, the committee declare that voting is at war with the distribution of functions between the sexes, what do they mean? Are not women as much interested in good government as men? There is fraud in the Legislature; there is corruption in the Courts; there are hospitals, and tenement-houses, and prisons; there are gambling-houses, and billiard-rooms and brothels; there are grog-shops at every corner, and I know not what enormous proportion of crime in the State proceeds from them; there are forty thousand drunkards in the State, and their hundreds of thousands of children—all these things are subjects of legislation, and under the exclusive legislation of men the crime associated with all these things becomes vast and complicated. Have the wives and mothers and sisters of New York less vital interest in them, less practical knowledge of them and their proper treatment, than the husbands and fathers? No man is so insane as to pretend it. Is there any natural incapacity in women to understand politics? It is not asserted. Are they lacking in the necessary intelligence? But the moment that you erect a standard of intelligence which is sufficient to exclude women as a sex, that moment most of the male sex would be disfranchised. Is it that they ought not to go to public political meetings? But we earnestly invite them. Or that they should not go to the polls? Some polls, I allow, in the larger cities, are dirty and dangerous places, and those it is the duty of the police to reform. But no decent man wishes to vote in a grog-shop, nor to have his head broken while he is doing it, while the mere act of dropping a ballot in a box is about the simplest, shortest and cleanest that can be done. Last Winter Senator Frelinghuysen, repeating, I am sure thoughtlessly, the common rhetoric of the question, spoke of the high and holy mission of women. But if people, with a high and holy mission, may innocently sit bare-necked in hot theatres to be studied through pocket telescopes until midnight by any one who chooses, how can their high and holy mission be harmed by their quietly dropping a ballot in a box? What is the high and holy mission of any woman but to be the best and most efficient human being possible? To enlarge the sphere of duty and the range of responsibility, where there are adequate power and intelligence, is to heighten, not to lessen the holiness of life.

But if women vote, they must sit on juries. Why not? Nothing is plainer than that thousands of women who are tried every year as criminals, are not tried by their peers. And if a woman is bad enough to commit a heinous crime, must we absurdly assume that women are too good to know that there is such a crime? If they may not sit on juries, certainly they ought not to be witnesses. A note in Howell's State Trials to which my attention was drawn by one of my distinguished colleagues in the Convention, quotes an ancient work, "Probation by Witnesses," by Sir George Mackenzie, in which he says. "The reason why women are excluded from witnessing, must be either that they are subject to too much compassion and so ought not to be more received in criminal cases than in civil cases; or else the law was unwilling to trouble them, and thought it might learn them too much confidence and make them subject to too much familiarity with men and strangers, if they were necessitated to vague up and down at all Courts upon all occasions." Hume says this rule was held as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century. But if too much familiarity with men be so pernicious, are men so pure that they alone should make laws for women, and so honorable that they alone should try women for breaking them? It is within a very few years at the Liverpool Assizes, in a case involving peculiar evidence, that Mr. Russell said: "The evidence of women is, in some respects, superior to that of men. Their power of judging of minute details is better, and when there are more than two facts and something to be wanting, their intuitions supply the deficiency." "And precisely the qualities which fit them to give evidence," says Mrs. Dall, to whom we owe this fact, "fit them to sift and test it."

But, the objectors continue, would you have women hold office? If they are capable and desirous, why not? They hold office now most acceptably. In my immediate neighborhood a postmistress has been so faithful an officer for seven years, that when there was a rumor of her removal, it was a matter of public concern. This is a familiar instance in this country. Scott's "Antiquary" shows that a similar service was not unknown in Scotland. In Notes and Queries, ten years ago (vol. II., sec. 2, 1856, pp. 83, 204), Alexander Andrews says: "It was by no means unusual for females to serve the office of overseers in small rural parishes," and a communication in the same publication (1st series, vol. II., p. 383), speaks of a curious entry in the Harleian Miscellany (MS. 980, fol. 153): "The Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry VII., was a Justice of the Peace. Mr. Atturney said if it was so, it ought to have been by commission, for which he had made many an hower's search for the record, but could never find it, but he had seen many arbitriments that were made by her. Justice Joanes affirmed that he had often heard from his mother of the Lady Bartlett, mother to the Lord Bartlett, that she was a Justice of the Peace, and did set usually upon the bench with the other Justices in Gloucestershire; that she was made so by Queen Mary, upon her complaint to her of the injuries she sustained by some of that county, and desiring for redress thereof; that as she, herself, was Chief-Justice of all England, so this lady might be in her own county, which accordingly the Queen granted. Another example was alleged of one —— Rowse, in Suffolk, who usually at the assizes and sessions there held set upon the bench among the Justices *gladio sincta.*" The Countess of Pembroke was hereditary sheriff of Westmoreland, and exercised her office. Henry the Eighth granted a commission of inquiry, under the great seal, to Lady Ann Berkeley, who opened it at Gloucester and passed sentence under it. Henry Eighth's daughter, Elizabeth Tudor, was Queen of England, in name and in fact, during the most illustrious epoch of English history. Was Elizabeth incompetent? Did Elizabeth unsex herself? Or do you say that she was an exceptional woman? So she was, but no more an exceptional woman than Alfred, Marcus Aurelius or Napoleon were exceptional men. It was held by some of the old English writers that a woman might serve in almost any of the great offices of the Kingdom. And indeed if Victoria may deliberate in council with her ministers, why may not any intelligent Englishwoman deliberate in Parliament or any such American woman in Congress?

I mention Elizabeth, Maria Theresa, Catharine, and all the famous Empresses and Queens, not to prove the capacity of women for the most arduous and responsible office, for that is undeniable, but to show the hollowness of the assertion that there is an instinctive objection to the fulfilment of such offices by women. Men who say so, do not really think so. The whole history of the voting and office-holding of women shows that whenever men's theories of the relation of property to the political franchise, or of the lineal succession of the government, require that women shall vote or hold office, the objection of impropriety and incapacity wholly disappears. If it be unwomanly for a woman to vote, or to hold office, it is unwomanly for Victoria to be Queen of England. Surely if our neighbors had thought they would be better represented in this Convention by certain women, there is no good reason why they should have been compelled to send us. Why should I or any person be forbidden to select the agent whom we think most competent and truly representative of our will? There is no talent or training required in the making of laws which is peculiar to the male sex. What is needed is intelligence and experience. The rest is routine.

The capacity for making laws is necessarily assumed when women are permitted to hold and manage property and to submit to taxation. How often the woman, widowed or married or single, is the guiding genius of the family—educating the children, directing the estate, originating, counselling, deciding. Is there anything essentially different in such duties and the powers necessary to perform them, from the functions of legislation? In New Jersey the Constitution of 1776 admitted to vote all inhabitants of a certain age, residence and property. In 1797, in an act to regulate elections, the ninth section provides: "Every voter shall openly and in full view, deliver his or her ballot, which shall be a single written ticket, containing the names of the persons for whom he or she votes." An old citizen of New Jersey says that "the right was recognized and very little said or thought about it in any way." But in 1807 the suffrage was restricted to white male adult citizens of a certain age, residence and property, and in 1844 the property qualification was abolished. At the hearing before the Committee, the other evening, a gentleman asked whether the change of the qualification excluding women did not show that their voting was found to be inconvenient or undesirable. Not at all. It merely showed that the male property-holders outvoted the female. It certainly showed nothing as to the right or expediency of the voting of women. Mr. Douglas, as I said, had a theory that the white male adult squatters in a territory might decide whether the colored people in the territory should be enslaved. They might, indeed, so decide, and with adequate power they might enforce their decision. But it proved very little as to the right, the expediency, or the constitutionality of slavery in a territory. The truth is that men deal with the practical question of female suffrage to suit their own purposes. About twenty-five years ago the Canadian government by statute rigorously and in terms forbade women to vote. But in 1850, to subserve a sectarian purpose, they *were* permitted to vote for school trustees. I am ashamed to urge a point so plain. What public affairs need in this State is "conscience," and woman is the conscience of the race. If we in this Convention shall make a wise Constitution, if the Legislatures that follow us in this chamber shall purify the laws and see that they are honorably executed, it will be just in the degree that we shall have accustomed ourselves to the refined moral and mental atmosphere in which women habitually converse.

But would you, seriously, I am asked, would you drag women down into the mire of politics? No, sir, I would have them lift us out of it. The duty of this Convention is to devise means for the improvement of the government of this State. Now the science of government is not an ignoble science, and the practice of politics is not necessarily mean and degrading. If the making and administering of law has become so corrupt as to justify calling politics filthy, and a thing with which no clean hands can meddle without danger, may we not wisely remember, as we begin our work of purification, that politics have been wholly managed by men? How can we purify them? Is there no radical method, no force yet untried, a power not only of skilful checks, which I do not undervalue, but of controlling character? Mr. Chairman, if we sat in this chamber with closed windows until the air became thick and fetid, should we not be fools it we brought in deodorizers—if we sprinkled chloride of lime and burned assafœtida, while we disdained the great purifier? If we would cleanse the foul chamber, let us throw the windows wide open, and the sweet Summer air would sweep all impurity away and fill our lungs with fresher life. If we would purge politics, let us turn upon them the great stream of the purest human influence we know.

But I hear some one say, if they vote they must do military duty. Undoubtedly, when a nation goes to war it may rightfully claim the service of all its citizens, men and women. But the question of fighting is not the blow merely, but its quality and persistence. The important point is, to make the blow effective. Did any brave Englishman who rode in the jaws of death at Balaklava serve England on the field more truly than Florence Nightingale? That which sustains and serves and repairs the physical force is just as essential as the force itself. Thus the law, in view of the moral service they are supposed to render, excuses clergymen from the field, and in the field it details ten per cent. of the army to serve the rest, and they do not carry muskets nor fight. Women, as citizens, have always done, and always will do that work in the public defence for which their sex peculiarly fits them, and men do no more. The care of the young warriors, the nameless and innumerable duties of the hospital and home, are just as essential to the national safety as fighting in the field. A nation of men alone could not carry on a contest any longer than a nation of women. Each would be obliged to divide its forces and delegate half to the duties of the other sex.

But while the physical services of war are equally divided between the sexes, the moral forces are stronger with women. It was the women of the South, we are constantly and doubtless very truly told, who sustained the rebellion, and certainly without the women of the North the government had not been saved. From the first moment to the last, in all the roaring cities, in the remote valleys, in the deep woods, on the country hillsides, on the open prairie, wherever there were wives, mothers, sisters, lovers, there were the busy fingers which, by day and by night, for four long years, like the great forces of Spring-time and harvest, never failed. The mother paused only to bless her sons, eager for the battle; the wife to kiss her children's father, as he went; the sister smiled upon her brother, and prayed for the lover who marched away. Out of how many hundreds of thousands of homes and hearts they went who never returned. But those homes were both the inspiration and the consolation of the field. They nerved the arm that struck for them. When the son and the husband fell in the wild storm of battle, the brave woman-heart broke in silence, but the busy fingers did not falter. When the comely brother and lover were tortured into idiocy and despair, that woman-heart of love kept the man's faith steady, and her unceasing toil repaired his wasted frame. It was not love of the soldier only, great as that was; it was knowledge of the cause. It was that supreme moral force operating through innumerable channels, like the sunshine in nature, without which successful war would have been impossible. There are thousands and thousands of these women who ask for a voice in the government they have so defended. Shall we refuse them?

I appeal again to my honorable friend the Chairman of the committee. He has made the land ring with his cry of universal suffrage and universal amnesty. Suffrage and amnesty to whom? To those who sought to smother the government in the blood of its noblest citizens, to those who ruined the happy homes and broke the faithful hearts of which I spoke. Sir, I am not condemning his cry. I am not opposing his policy. I have no more thirst for vengeance than he, and quite as anxiously as my honorable friend do I wish to see the harvests of peace waving over the battle-fields. But, sir, here is a New York mother, who trained her son in fidelity to God and to his country. When that country called, they answered. Mother and son gave, each after his kind, their whole service to defend her. By the sad fate of war the boy is thrown into the ghastly den at Andersonville. Mad with thirst, he crawls in the pitiless sun toward a muddy pool. He reaches the dead-line, and is shot by the guard—murdered for fidelity to his country. "I demand amnesty for that guard, I demand that he shall vote," cries the honorable Chairman of the committee. I do not say that it is an unwise demand. But I ask him, I ask you, sir, I ask every honorable and patriotic man in this State, upon what conceivable ground of justice, expediency or common sense shall we give the ballot to the New York boy's murderer and refuse it to his mother?

Mr. Chairman, I have thus stated what I conceive to be the essential reasonableness of the amendment which I have offered. It is not good for man to be alone. United with woman in the creation of human society, their rights and interests in its government are identical, nor can the highest and truest development of society be reasonably conceived, so long as one sex assumes to prescribe limits to the scope and functions of the other. Where they are wholly slaves, man is wholly barbarous; and the measure of progress from barbarism to civilization is the recognition of their equal right with man to an unconstrained development. Therefore, when Mr. Mill unrolls his petition in Parliament to secure the political equality of women, it bears the name of those English men and women whose thoughts foretell the course of civilization. The measure which the report of the committee declares to be radically revolutionary and perilous to the very functions of sex, is described by the most sagacious of living political philosophers as reasonable, conservative, necessary and inevitable; and he obtains for it seventy-three votes in the same House in which out of about the same whole number of voters Charles James Fox, the idol of the British Whigs, used to be able to rally only forty votes against the policy of Pitt. The dawn in England will soon be day here. Before the American principle of equal rights, barrier after barrier in the path of human progress falls. If we are still far from its full comprehension and further from perfect conformity to its law, it is in that only like the spirit of Christianity to whose full glory even Christendom but slowly approaches. From the heat and tumult of our politics we can still lift our eyes to the eternal light of that principle; can see that the usurpation of sex is the last form of caste that lingers in our society; that in America the most humane thinker is the most practical man, and the organizer of justice the most sagacious statesman.

LITERARY.

GOOD STORIES, 18mo., paper, 200 pp. Publishers: Tickenor and Field, Boston. Price 50 cents.

The above is the simple and suggestive title of a new serial by the well-known firm whose taste and enterprise have done so much to popularize good literature for the public mind. The initial number, which from its size and cheapness is adapted to the rail-car and steamboat, contains tales by De Quincey, Hawthorne, Winthrop, Hood, etc., while illustrations by such artists as Nast, Hoppin and Perkins, give lightness and attraction to the volume.

THE HOUSEHOLD OF SIR THOMAS MORE, by the author of "Mary Powell," M. W. Dodd, publishers, No. 506 Broadway, N. Y.

The above picture of English life in an earlier century is charmingly sketched, having all the sweetness and quaintness which so delighted the readers of "Mary Powell," which was long taken for a genuine narration. The interest of the reader is caught at once, and the purity, simplicity and pathos of its pages preserves his closest attention to its close. The book is exceedingly neat in appearance, its typography and general finish being all that could be desired by the most fastidious.

The August number of the *Radical* is more than usually interesting. An ably written article entitled "Individuality," "What About Girls," an appeal no less earnest than truthful for woman's right to suffrage, and some interesting facts concerning the life of Kleanthes, are the most valuable contributions to the number, and sustain the reputation of this welcome magazine for literary excellence and critical ability.

English poetry has received a valuable addition in the latest work of Mr. William Morris, "The Life and Death of Jason." The story of Jason is familiar to the whole cultivated world, but Mr. Morris has invested it with new interest, so graceful is his style and so fascinating his delineation of the time and events which surrounded it. The third book is a model of antique art, and expresses Mr. Morris's genius more truly, perhaps, than any other portion of the work. English critics have accorded to Mr. Morris the highest honors won on the field of classic poetry during the past quarter of a century. We are not prepared at so hasty a notice to deny or to affirm their conclusions, but do not hesitate to say that "The Life and Death of Jason" will compare honorably with the best efforts of English classic art. Messrs. Roberts and Brothers, Boston, are the publishers of the work, and they have presented one of the neatest volumes issued from the press this season.

At a recent book sale in London the immense price of $2,050 was paid for "Shakspeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, published according to the true original copies: the first folio edition, with fine portrait by Droeshout on title-page, with Ben Jonson's verses 'To the Reader' in large type, on a separated leaf opposite. Printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount, 1623." The purchaser was Mr. J. O. Halliwell.

At the time of Gen. Meagher's death he had in the hands of the editor of *Harpers' Monthly* the first of a series of papers he was projecting, to be called, "Rides in Montana. By Col. Cornelius O'Keefe, late of the Irish Brigade." This first (and last) instalment will appear in the October number.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On the 19th inst., Gen. Grant, in compliance with instructions from the President, issued an order removing Gen. Sheridan to the Department of the Missouri, assigning Gen. Thomas as his successor, and Gen. Hancock, who is to be relieved by Sheridan, to succeed Thomas. Sheridan is to report at the War Department before taking his new command. The *Tribune* of Aug. 12, in commenting on this, begins to evince a truer appreciation of Grant's character than hitherto.

It appears, from official correspondence just published, that Minister Campbell's retirement from the Mexican Mission occurred in consequence of a rather peremptory notification by Secretary Seward that such would be agreeable to the government. Mr. Campbell answers Mr. Seward sharply—exposing the fact that Campbell's noncomplicity in the Secretary's imperialistic policy was the real cause of the removal.

A steamboat captain at Charleston, S. C., has been fined $250 by Gen. Sickles, for refusing to carry a (female) passenger on account of color. Also, by Gen. Sickles's order, several men at Plymouth were sentenced to fines from $15 to $25, and to imprisonment from one month to three months, for being concerned in a case of malicious and vindictive premeditated assault and battery on a negro girl, which was conducted in a manner apparently barbarous even in the old North State. One magistrate who abetted the outrage was deposed, imprisoned and fined.

The echo of all this is found in a dispatch from Washington, stating that the early removal of Gen. Sickles by the President or his new Secretary of War is looked for.

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PRAXITELES AND PHRYNE.

BY W. W. STORY.

A THOUSAND silent years ago,
The starlight, faint and pale,
Was drawing on the sunset glow
Its soft and shadowy veil;

When from his work the sculptor stayed
His hand, and turned to one
Who stood beside him, half in shade.
Said, with a sigh, "'Tis done.

"Phryne, thy humandips shall pale,
Thy rounded limbs decay,
Nor love nor prayers can aught avail
To bid thy beauty stay;

"But there thy smile for centuries
On marble lips shall live—
For art can grant what love denies
And fix the fugitive.

"Sad thought! nor age nor death shall fade
The youth of this cold bust;
When the quick brain and hand that made,
And thou and I are dust!

"When all our hopes and fears are dead,
And both our hearts are cold,
And love is like a tune that's played,
And life a tale that's told,

"This counterfeit of senseless stone,
That no sweet blush can warm,
The same enchanting look shall own,
The same enchanting form.

"And there upon that silent face
Shall unborn ages see
Perennial youth, perennial grace,
And sealed serenity.

"And strangers, when we sleep in peace,
Shall say, not quite unmoved,
So smiled upon Praxiteles
The Phryne whom he loved."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SPEECH OF GEORGE WM. CURTIS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

THE Convention resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole on the report of the Committee on the Right of Suffrage and the Qualifications to Hold Office, Mr. Alvord, of Onondaga, in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN announced the question to be on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Cayuga (Mr. C. C. Dwight).

Mr. CURTIS offered the following amendment:

"In the first section, strike out the word 'male,' and wherever in that section the word 'he' occurs, add 'or she,' and wherever the word 'his' occurs, add 'or her.'"

Mr. CURTIS—In proposing a change so new to our political practice, but so harmonious with the spirit and principles of our government, it is only just that I should attempt to show that it is neither repugnant to reason nor hurtful to the State. Yet I confess some embarrassment, for while the essential reason of the proposition seems to me to be clearly defined, the objection to it is vague and shadowy. From the formal opening of the general discussion of the question in this country, by the Convention at Seneca Falls, in 1848, down to the present moment, the opposition to the suggestion, so far as I am acquainted with it, has been only the repetition of a traditional prejudice, or the protest of mere sentimentality, and to cope with these is like wrestling with a malaria or arguing with the east wind. I do not know, indeed, why the committee have changed the phrase male inhabitant or citizen, which is uniformly used in a constitutional clause limiting the elective franchise. Under the circumstances, the word "Man" is obscure and undoubtedly includes women as much as the word "mankind." But the intention of the clause is evident, and the report of the committee makes it indisputable. Had they been willing to say directly what they say indirectly, the eighth line and what follows, would read: "Provided that idiots, lunatics, persons under guardianship, felons, women, and persons convicted of bribery, etc., shall not be entitled to vote." In their report, the committee omit to tell us why they politically class the women of New York with idiots and criminals. They assert, merely, that the general enfranchisment of women would be a novelty, which is true of every step of political progress, and is therefore a presumption in its favor, and they speak of it in a phrase which is intended to stigmatize it as unwomanly, which is simply an assumption and a prejudice. I wish to know, sir, and I ask in the name of the political justice and consistency of this State, why it is that half of the adult population, as vitally interested in good government as the other half, who own property, manage estates, and pay taxes, who discharge all the duties of good citizens and are perfectly intelligent and capable, are absolutely deprived of political power, and classed with lunatics and felons. The boy will become a man and a voter; the lunatic may emerge from the cloud and resume his rights; the idiot, plastic under the tender hand of modern science, may be moulded into the full citizen; the criminal, whose hand still drips with the blood of his country and of liberty, may be pardoned and restored. But no age, no wisdom, no peculiar fitness, no public service, no effort, no desire can remove from women this enormous and extraordinary disability. Upon what reasonable grounds does it rest? Upon none whatever. It is contrary to natural justice, to the acknowledged and traditional principles of the American government, and to the most enlightened political philosophy. The absolute exclusion of women from political power in this State is simply usurpation. "In every age and country," says the historian Gibbon, nearly a hundred years ago, "the wiser, or at least the stronger of the two sexes, has usurped the powers of the State and confined the other to the cares and pleasures of domestic life."

The historical fact is that the usurping class, as Gibbon calls them, have always regulated the position of women by their own theories and convenience. The barbaric Persian, for instance, punished an insult to the woman with death, not because of her but of himself. She was part of *him*. And the civilized English Blackstone only repeats the barbaric Persian when he says that the wife and husband form but one person—that is the husband. Sir, it would be extremely amusing, if it were not tragical, to trace the consequences of this theory on human society and the unhappy effect upon the progress of civilization of this morbid estimate of the importance of men. Gibbon gives a curious instance of it, and an instance which recalls the spirit of the modern English laws of divorce. There was a temple in Rome to the Goddess who presided over the peace of marriages. "But," says the historian, "her very name, Viriplaca—the appeaser of husbands—shows that repentance and submission were always expected from the wife,"—as if the offence usually came from her. In the "Lawe's resolution of Women's Rights," published in the year 1632, a book which I have not seen, but of which there are copies in the country, the anonymous and quaint author says, and with a sly satire: "It is true that man and woman are one person, but understand in what manner. When a small brooke or little river incorporateth with Rhodanus, Humber, or the Thames, the poor rivulet looseth her name: it is carried and recarried with the new associate: it beareth no sway—it possesseth nothing during coverture. A woman as soon as she is married is called *covert*: in Latin *nupta*—that is, veiled; as it were overclouded and shadowed; she hath lost her streame. I may more truly, farre away, say to a married woman, her new self is her superior; her companion her master. * * See here the reason of that which I touched before—that women have no voice in Parliament; they make no laws; they consent to none; they abrogate none. All of them are understood either married or to be married, and their desires are to their husbands."

From this theory of ancient society, that woman is absorbed in man, that she is a social inferior and a subordinate part of man, springs the system of laws in regard to woman which in every civilized country is now in course of such rapid modification, and it is this theory which so tenaciously lingers as a traditional prejudice in our political customs. But a state which like New York recognizes the equal individual rights of all its members, declaring that none of them shall be disfranchised unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers, and which acknowledges women as property-holders and taxable, responsible citizens, has wholly renounced the old Feudal and Pagan theory, and has no right to continue the evil condition which springs from it. The honorable and eloquent gentleman from Onondaga said that he favored every enlargement of the franchise consistent with the safety of the State. Sir, I heartily agree with him, and it was the duty of the committee in proposing to continue the exclusion of women, to show that it is necessary to the welfare and safety of the State that the whole sex shall be disfranchised.

It is in vain for the Committee to say that I ask for an enlargement of the franchise and must therefore show a reason. Sir, I show the reason upon which this franchise itself rests, and which, in its very nature, forbids arbitrary exclusion; and I urge the enfranchisement of women on the ground that whatever political right men have, women have equally.

I have no wish to refine curiously upon the origin of government. If any one insists with the honorable gentleman from Broome, that there are no such things as natural political rights, and that no man is born a voter, I will not now stop to argue with him; but as I believe the honorable gentleman from Broome is by profession a physician and surgeon, I will suggest to him that if no man is born a voter, so no man is born a man—for every man is born a baby. But he *is* born with the right of becoming a man without hindrance; and I ask the honorable gentleman, as an American citizen and political philosopher, whether, if every man is not born a voter, he is not born with the right of becoming a voter upon equal terms with other men? What else is the meaning of the phrase which I find in the New York *Tribune* of Monday, and have so often found there. "The radical basis of government is equal rights for all citizens."

There are, as I think we shall all admit, some kind of natural rights. This Summer air that breathes benignant around our national anniversary, is vocal with the traditional eloquence with which those rights were asserted by our fathers. From all the burning words of the time I quote those of Alexander Hamilton, of New York, in reply, as my honorable friend the Chairman of the committee will remember, to the Tory farmer of Westchester: "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or dusty records. They are written as with a sunbeam in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of the Divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power." In the next year, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, summed up the political faith of our fathers in the Great Declaration. Its words vibrate through the history of those days. As the lyre of Amphion raised the walls of the city, so they are the music which sing course after course of the ascending structure of American civilization into its place. Our fathers stood indeed upon technical and legal grounds when the contest with Great Britain began, but as tyranny encroached they rose naturally into the sphere of fundamental truths as into a purer air. Driven by storms beyond sight of land, the sailor steers by the stars, and our fathers, compelled to explore the whole subject of social rights and duties, derived their government from what they called self-evident truths. Despite the brilliant and vehement eloquence of Mr. Choate, they did *not* deal in glittering generalities, and the Declaration of Independence was *not* the passionate manifesto of a revolutinary war, but the calm and simple statement of a new political philosophy and practice.

The rights which they declared to be inalienable are indeed what are usually called natural, as distinguished from political rights, but they are not limited by sex. A woman has the same right to her life, liberty and property that a man has, and she has consequently the same right to an equality of protection that he has; and this, as I understand it, is what is meant by the phrase, the right of suffrage. If I have a natural right to that hand, I have an equal natural right to everything that secures to me its use, provided it does not harm the equal right of another; and if I have a natural right to my life and liberty, I have the same right to everything that protects that life and liberty which any other man enjoys. I should like my honorable friend, the Chairman of this committee, to show me any right which God gave him which he also gave to me, for which God gave him a claim to any defence which he has not given to me. And I ask the same question for every woman in this State. Have they less natural right to life, liberty and property, than my honorable friend the Chairman of the committee—and is it not, to quote the words of his report, an extremely "defensible theory," that he cannot justly deprive the least of those women of any protection of those rights which he claims for himself? No, sir, the natural, or what we call civil right, and its political defence, go together. This was the impregnable logic of the Revolution. Lord Gower sneered in Parliament at the American Colonists a century ago as Mr Robert Lowe sneers at the English Reformers to-day: "Let the Americans talk about their natural and divine rights. * * * * I am for enforcing these measures." Dr. Johnson bellowed across the Atlantic. "Taxation no Tyranny." James Otis spoke for America, for common sense, and for eternal justice, in saying: "No good reason, however, can be given in any country, why every man of a sound mind should not have his vote in the election of a representative. If a man has but little property to protect and defend, yet his life and liberty are things of some importance." And long before James Otis, Lord Somers said to a committee of the House of Commons, that the possession of the vote is the only true security which an Englishman has for the possession of his life and property.

Every person, then, is born with an equal claim to every kind of protection of his natural rights which any other person enjoys. The practical question, therefore, is how shall this protection be best attained? and this is the question of government which, according to the Declaration, is established for the security of these rights. The British theory was that they could better be secured by an intelligent few than by the ignorant and passionate multitude. Goldsmith expressed it in singing:

"For just experience shows in every soil,
That those who think must govern those who toil."

But nobody denies that the government of the best is the best government; the only question is how to find the best, and common sense replies:

"The good, 'tis true, are heaven's peculiar care,
But who but heaven shall show us who they are?"

Our fathers answered the question of the best and surest protection of natural right by their famous phrase, "the consent of the governed." That is to say, since every man is born with equal natural rights, he is entitled to an equal protection of them with all other men; and since government is that protection, right reason and experience alike demand that every person shall have a voice in the government upon perfectly equal and practicable terms—that is, upon terms which are not necessarily and absolutely insurmountable by any part of the people.

Now these terms cannot rightfully be arbitrary. But the argument of the honorable gentleman from Schenectady, whose lucid and dignified discourse needs no praise of mine, and the arguments of others who have derived government from society, seemed to assume that the political people may exclude and include at their pleasure; that they may establish purely arbitrary tests, such as height, or weight, or color, or sex. This was substantially the squatter sovereignty of Mr. Douglas, who held that the male white majority of the settlers in a territory might deprive a colored minority of all their rights whatever; and he declared that they had the right to do it. The same right that this Convention has to hang me at this moment to that chandelier, but no other right. Brute force, sir, may do anything; but we are speaking of rights, and of rights under this government, and I deny that the people of the State of New York can rightfully, that is, according to right reason and the principles of this government derived from it, *permanently* exclude any class of persons or any person whatever from a voice in the government, unless it can be clearly established that their participation in political power would be dangerous to the State; and therefore, the honorable gentleman from Kings was logically correct in opposing the enfranchisement of the colored population, upon the ground that they were an inferior race, of limited intelligence, a kind of Chimpanzee at best. I think, however, sir, the honorable and scholarly gentleman—even he—will admit, that at Fort Pillow, at Miltiken's Bend, at Fort Wagner, the Chimpanzees did uncommonly well; yes, sir, as gloriously and immortally as our own fathers at Bunker Hill and Saratoga. "There ought to be no Pariahs," says John Stuart Mill, "in a full grown and civilized nation; no persons disqualified except through their own default. * * Every one is degraded, whether aware of it or not, when other people, without consulting him, take upon themselves unlimited power to regulate his destiny." "No arrangement of the suffrage, therefore, can be permanently satisfactory in which any person or class is peremptorily excluded; in which the electoral privilege is not open to all persons of full age who desire it." (Rep. G., p. 167.) And Thomas Hare, one of the acutest of living political thinkers, says that in all cases where a woman fulfils the qualification which is imposed upon a man, there is no sound reason for excluding her from the parliamentary franchise. The exclusion is probably a remnant of the feudal law, and is not in harmony with the other civil institutions of the country. There would be greater propriety in celebrating a reign which has been productive of so much moral benefit by the abolition of an anomaly which is so entirely without any justifiable foundation." (Hare, p. 280.)

The Chairman of the committee asked Miss Anthony the other evening whether, if suffrage were a natural right, it could be denied to children? Her answer seemed to me perfectly satisfactory. She said simply, "all that we ask is an equal and not an arbitrary regulation. If *you* have the right, *we* have it." The honorable Chairman would hardly deny that to regulate the exercise of a right according to obvious reason and experience is one thing, to deny it absolutely and forever is another. And this is the safe practical rule of our government, as James Madison expressed it, that "it be derived from the great body of the people, not from an inconsiderable portion or favored class of it." When Mr. Gladstone, in his famous speech that startled England, said, in effect, that no one could be justly excluded from the franchise, except upon grounds of personal unfitness or public danger, he merely echoed the sentiment of Joseph Warren, which is gradually seen to be the wisest and most practical political philosophy: "I would have such a government as should give every man the greatest liberty to do what he chooses, consistent with restraining him from doing any injury to another." Is not that the kind of government, sir, which we wish to propose for this State? And if every person in New York has a natural right to life, liberty and property, and a co-existent claim to a share in the government which defends them, regulated only by perfectly equitable conditions, what are the practical grounds upon which it is proposed to continue the absolute and hopeless disfranchisement of half the adult population?

It is alleged that women are already represented by men. Where are they so represented, and when was the choice made? If I am told that they are virtually represented, I reply with James Otis, that "no such phrase as virtual representation is known in law or Constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd." I repeat, if they are represented, when was the choice made? Nobody pretends that they have ever been consulted. It is a mere assumption to the effect that the interest and affection of men will lead them to just and wise legislation for women as well as for themselves. But this is merely the old appeal for the political power of a class. It is just what the British Parliament said to the colonies a hundred years ago. "We are all under the same government," they said; "our interests are identical; we are all Britons; Britannia rules the wave; God save the King, and down with sedition and Sons of Liberty." The colonies chafed and indignantly protested, because the assumption that therefore fair laws were made was not true; because they were discovering for themselves what every nation has discovered—the truth that shakes England to-day, and brings Disraeli and the Tory party to their knees, and has already brought this country to blood—that there is no class of citizens, and no single citizen who can safely be intrusted with the permanent and exclusive possession of political power. "There is no instance on record," says Buckle, in his history of civilization in England, "of any class possessing power without abusing it." It is as true of men as a class as it is of an hereditary nobility, or of a class of property-holders. Men are not wise enough, nor generous enough, nor pure enough, to legislate fairly for women. The laws of the most civilized nations depress and degrade women. The legislation is in favor of the legislating class. In the celebrated debate upon the marriage amendment act in England, Mr. Gladstone said that "when the gospel came into the world woman was elevated to an equality with her stronger companion." Yet at the very time he was speaking, the English law of divorce, made by men to regulate their domestic relations with women, was denounced by the law lords themselves, as "disgusting and demoralizing" in its operation; "barbarous," "indecent," "a disgrace to the country," and "shocking to the sense of right." Now, if the equality of which Mr. Gladstone spoke had been political as well as sentimental, does he or any statesman suppose that the law of divorce would have been what it then was, or that the law of England to-day would give all the earnings of a married woman to her husband; or that of France forbid a woman to receive any gift without her husband's permission?

We ask women to confide in us, as having the same interests with them. Did any despot ever say anything else? And if it be safe or proper for any intelligent part of the people to relinquish exclusive political power to any class, I ask the committee who propose that women should be compelled to do this, to what class, however rich, or intelligent, or honest, they would themselves surrender *their* power, and what they would do if any class attempted to usurp that power? They know, as we all know, as our own experience has taught us, that the only security of natural right is the ballot. They know, and the instinct of the whole loyal land knows, that when we had abolished slavery, the emancipation could be completed and secured only by the ballot in the hands of the emancipated class. Civil rights were a mere mocking name until political power gave them substance. A year ago Gov. Orr of South Carolina told us that the rights of the freedmen were safest in the hands of their old masters. "Will you walk into my parlor, said the spider to the fly?" New Orleans, Memphis, and countless and constant crimes showed what that safety was. Then, hesitating no longer, the nation handed the ballot to the freedmen, and said "protect yourselves!" And now Gov. Orr says that the part of wisdom for South Carolina is to cut loose from all parties and make a cordial alliance with the colored citizens. Gov. Orr knows that a man with civil rights merely is a blank cartridge. Give him the ballot and you add a bullet, and make him effective. In that section of the country, seething with old hatreds and wounded pride and a social system upheaved from the foundation, no other measure could have done for real pacification in a century what the mere promise of the ballot has done in a year. The one formidable peril in the whole subject of reconstruction has been the chance that Congress would continue in the Southern States the political power in the hands of a class, as the report of the committee proposes that we shall do in New York.

If I am asked what do women want the ballot for? I answer the question with another, what do men want it for? Why do the British workmen at this moment so urgently demand it? Look into the British laws regulating labor and you will see why. They want the ballot because the laws affecting labor and capital are made by the capitalist class alone, and are therefore unjust. I do not forget the progressive legislation of New York in regard to the rights of women. The property bill of 1860 and its supplement, according to the New York *Tribune*, redeemed five thousand women from pauperism. In the next year Illinois put women in the same position with men as far as property rights and remedies are concerned. I mention these facts with pleasure, as I read that Louis Napoleon will, under certain conditions, permit the French people to say what they think. But if such reforms are desirable they would certainly have been sooner and more wisely effected could women have been a positive political power. Upon this point one honorable gentleman asked Mrs. Stanton whether the laws both for men and women were not constantly improving, and whether, therefore, it was not unfair to attribute the character of the laws about women to the fact that men made them. The reply is very evident. If women alone made the laws, legislation for both men and women would undoubtedly be progressive. Does the honorable gentleman think, therefore, that women only should make the laws?

It is not true, Mr. Chairman, that in the ordinary and honorable sense of the word women are represented. Laws are made for them by another class and upon the theories which that class, without the fear of political opposition, may choose to entertain, and in direct violation of the principles upon which, in their own case, they tenaciously insist. I live, sir, in the county of Richmond. It has a population of some 27,000 persons. They own property and manage it. They are taxed and pay their taxes, and they fulfil the duties of citizens with average fidelity. But if the committee had introduced a clause into the section they propose to this effect: "Provided that idiots, lunatics, persons under guardianship, felons, inhabitants of the county of Richmond and persons convicted of bribery, shall not be entitled to vote"—they would not have proposed a more monstrous injustice nor a grosser inconsistency with every fundamental right and American principle than in the clause they recommend; and in that case, sir, what do you suppose would have been my reception had I returned to my friends and neighbors, and had said to them, "The Convention thinks that you are virtually represented by the voters of Westchester and Chautauqua."

Mr. Chairman, I have no superstition about the ballot. I do not suppose it would immediately right all the wrongs of women, any more than it has righted all those of men. But what political agency has righted so many? Here are thousands of miserable men all around us; but they have every path opened to them; they have their advocates; they have their votes; they make the laws, and at last and at worst they have their strong right hands for defence. And here are thousands of miserable women pricking back death and dishonor with a little needle, and now the sly hand of science is stealing that little needle away. The ballot does not make those men happy, nor respectable, nor rich, nor noble. But they guard it for themselves with sleepless jealousy, because they know it is the golden gate to every opportunity; and precisely the *kind* of advantage it gives to one sex, it would give to the other. It would arm it with the most powerful weapon known to political society; it would maintain the natural balance of the sexes in human affairs, and secure to each fair play within its sphere.

But, sir, the committee tell us that the suffrage of women would be a revolutionary innovation—it would disturb the venerable traditions. Well, sir, about the year 1790, women were first recognized as schoolteachers in Massachusetts. At that time the New England "schoolmarm," and I use the word with affectionate respect, was a revolutionary innovation. She has been abroad ever since, and has been by no means the least efficient, but always the most modest and unnoticed of the great civilizing influences in this country. Innovation—why, sir, when Sir Samuel Romilly proposed to abolish the death penalty for stealing a handkerchief, the law officers of the Crown said it would endanger the whole criminal law of England. When the bill abolishing the slave trade passed the House of Lords, Lord St. Vincent rose and stalked out, declaring that he washed his hands of the ruin of the British Empire. When the Greenwich pensioners saw the first steamer upon the Thames, they protested that they did not like the steamer, for it was contrary to nature. When, at the close of the reign of Charles II. London had half a million of people, there was a fierce opposition to street lamps. Such is the hostility of venerable traditions to an increase of light. When Mr. Jefferson learned that New York had explored the route of a canal, he benignly regarded it, in the spirit of our committee, as doubtless "defensible in theory," for he said that it was "a very fine project, and might be executed a century hence." And fifty-six years ago, Chancellor Livingston wrote from this city that the proposition of a railroad, shod with iron, to move heavy weights four miles an hour, was ingenious, perhaps "theoretically defensible," but upon the whole the road would not be so cheap or convenient as a canal. In this country, sir, the venerable traditions are used to being disturbed. America was clearly designed to be a disturber of traditions, and to leave nobler precedents than she found. So, a few months ago, what the committee call a revolutionary innovation was proposed by giving the ballot to the freedmen in the District of Columbia. The awful results of such a revolution were duly set forth in one of the myriad veto messages of the President of the United States. But they have voted. If anybody proposed to disturb the election, it was certainly not the new voters. The election was perfectly peaceful, and not one of the Presidential pangs has been justified. So with this reform. It *is* new, in the extent proposed. It is as new as the harvest after the sowing, and it is as natural. The resumption of rights, long denied or withheld, never made a social convulsion. That is produced by refusing them. The West Indian slaves received their liberty, praying upon their knees; and the influence of the enfranchisment of women will glide into society as noiselessly as the dawn increases into day.

Or shall I be told that women, if not numerically counted at the polls, do yet exert an immense influence upon politics, and do not really need the ballot. If this argument were seriously urged, I should suffer my eyes to rove through this chamber and they would show me many honorable gentlemen of reputed political influence. May they, therefore, be properly and justly disfranchised? I ask the honorable Chairman of the Committee, whether he thinks that a citizen should have no vote because he has influence? What gives influence? Ability, intelligence, honesty. Are these to be excluded from the polls? Is it only stupidity, ignorance and rascality which ought to possess political power?

Or will it be said that women do not want the ballot and ought to be asked? And upon what principle ought they to be asked? When natural rights or their means of defence have been immemorially denied to a large class, does humanity, or justice, or good sense require that they should be registered and called to vote upon their own restoration? Why, Mr. Chairman, it might as well be said that Jack the Giant Killer ought to have gravely asked the captives in the ogre's dungeon whether they wished to be released. It must be assumed that men and women wish to enjoy their natural rights, as that the eyes wish light or the lungs an atmosphere. Did we wait for emancipation until the slaves petitioned to be free? No, sir, all our lives had been passed in ingenious and ignominious efforts to sophisticate and stultify ourselves for keeping them chained; and when war gave us a legal right to snap their bonds, we did not ask them whether they preferred to remain slaves. We knew that they were men, and that men by nature walk upright, and if we find them bent and crawling, we know that the posture is unnatural whether they may think so or not. In the case of women we acknowledge that they have the same natural rights as ourselves—we see that they hold property and pay taxes, and we must of necessity suppose that they wish to enjoy every security of those rights that we possess. So when in this State, every year, thousands of boys come of age, we do not solemnly require them to tell us whether they wish to vote. We assume, of course, that they do, and we say to them, "go, and upon the same terms with the rest of us, vote as you choose." But gentlemen say that they know a great many women who do not wish to vote, who think it is not ladylike, or whatever the proper term may be. Well, sir, I have known many men who habitually abstained from politics because they were so "ungentlemanly," and who thought that no man could touch pitch without defilement. Now what would the honorable gentlemen who know women who do not wish to vote, have thought of a proposition that I should not vote, because my neighbors did not wish to! There may have been slaves who preferred to remain slaves—was that an argument against freedom? Suppose there are a majority of the women of this State who do not wish to vote—is that a reason for depriving *one* woman who is taxed of her equal representation, or one innocent person of the equal protection of his life and liberty?

Shall nothing ever be done by statesmen until wrongs are so intolerable that they take society by the throat? Did it show the wisdom of British Conservatism that it waited to grant the Reform bill of 1832 until England hung upon the edge of civil war? When women and children were worked sixteen hours a day in English factories, did it show practical good sense to delay a "short time" bill until hundreds of thousands of starving workmen agreed to starve yet more, if need be, to relieve the over-work of their families, and until the most pitiful procession the sun ever shone upon, that of the factory children, just as they left their work, marched through the streets of Manchester, that burst into sobs and tears at the sight? Yet if, in such instances where there was so plausible an adverse appeal founded upon vested interests and upon the very theory of the government, it was unwise to wait until a general public outcry imperatively demanded the reform, how wholly needless to delay in this State a measure which is the natural result of our most cherished principles, and which threatens to disturb or injure nothing whatever. The amendment proposes no compulsion like the old New England law, which fined every voter who did not vote. If there are citizens of the State who think it unladylike or ungentlemanlike to take their part in the government, let them stay at home. But do not, I pray you, give them authority to detain wiser and better citizens from their duty.

(Continued on third page.)

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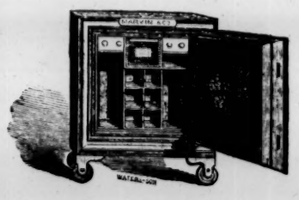

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